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THE WRITINGS

OF

HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS.

VOL. II.

FRAGMENTS OF WRITINGS

OF

THIRD CENTURY.

TRANSLATED BY

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THE EXTANT WORKS AND FRAGMENTS

OF


HIPPOLYTUS,

BISHOP OF PORTUS, AND MARTYR.

PART II.—DOGMATICAL AND HISTORICAL.

TREATISE ON CHRIST AND ANTICHRIST.

[Gallandi, *Bibl. vet. Patr.* ii. p. 417, Venice 1765.]

1.  S it was your desire, my beloved brother Theophilus,¹ to be thoroughly informed on those topics which I put summarily before you, I have thought it right to set these matters of inquiry clearly forth to your view, drawing largely from the holy Scriptures themselves as from a holy fountain, in order that you may not only have the pleasure of hearing them on the testimony of men,² but may also be able, by surveying them in the light of (divine) authority, to glorify God in all. For this will be as a sure supply furnished you by us for your journey in this present life, so that by ready argument applying things ill understood and apprehended by most, you may sow them in the ground of your heart, as in a rich and clean soil.³ By these, too, you will be able to silence those who

¹ Perhaps the same Theophilus whom Methodius, a contemporary of Hippolytus, addresses as Epiphanius, vol. i. pp. 640, 560, 590. From this introduction, too, it is clear that they are in error who take this book to be a homily. (Fabricius.)

² In the text the reading is *τῶν ὀντων*, for which *τῶν ὠτων* = *of the ears*, is proposed by some, and *ἀνθρώπων* = *of men*, by others. In the manuscripts the abbreviation *ωνων* is often found for *ἀνθρώπων*.

³ In the text we find *ὡς πίον καθαρά γῆ*, for which grammar requires *ὡς πίονι καθαρά γῆ*. Combesius proposes *ὡσπερὸν καθαρά γῆ* = *as in clean ground*. Others would read *ὡς πύρον*, etc. = *like grain in clean ground*.

oppose and gainsay the word of salvation. Only see that you do not give these things over to unbelieving and blasphemous tongues, for that is no common danger. But impart them to pious and faithful men, who desire to live holily and righteously with fear. For it is not to no purpose that the blessed apostle exhorts Timothy, and says, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith."¹ And again, "Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that thou hast heard of me in many exhortations, the same commit thou to faithful men,² who shall be able to teach others also."³ If, then, the blessed (apostle) delivered these things with a pious caution, which could be easily known by all, as he perceived in the spirit that "all men have not faith,"⁴ how much greater will be our danger, if, rashly and without thought, we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men?

2. For as the blessed prophets were made, so to speak, eyes for us, they foresaw through faith the mysteries of the word, and became ministers of these⁵ things also to succeeding generations, not only reporting the past, but also announcing the present and the future, so that the prophet might not appear to be one only for the time being, but might also predict the future for all generations, and so be reckoned a (true) prophet. For these fathers were furnished with the Spirit, and largely honoured by the Word Himself; and just as it is with instruments of music, so had they the Word always, like the plectrum,⁶ in union with them, and when moved by Him the prophets announced what God willed.

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

² This reading, *παρακλήσεων* for *μαρτύρων* (= witnesses), which is peculiar to Hippolytus alone, is all the more remarkable as so thoroughly suiting Paul's meaning in the passage.

³ 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 2.

⁵ The text reads *ἅτινα* = which. Gudius proposes *τινά* = some.

⁶ The plectrum was the instrument with which the lyre was struck. The text is in confusion here. Combefisius corrects it, as we render it, *ὁργάνων δίκην ἡνωμένον ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*.

For they spake not of their own power¹ (let there be no mistake as to that²), neither did they declare what pleased themselves. But first of all they were endowed with wisdom by the Word, and then again were rightly instructed in the future by means of visions. And then, when thus themselves fully convinced, they spake those things which³ were revealed by God to them alone, and concealed from all others. For with what reason should the prophet be called a prophet, unless he in spirit foresaw the future? For if the prophet spake of any chance event, he would not be a prophet then in speaking of things which were under the eye of all. But one who sets forth in detail things yet to be, was rightly judged a prophet. Wherefore prophets were with good reason called from the very first "seers."⁴ And hence we, too, who are rightly instructed in what was declared aforetime by them, speak not of our own capacity. For we do not attempt to make any change one way or another among ourselves in the words that were spoken of old by them, but we make the Scriptures in which these are written public, and read them to those who can believe rightly; for that is a common benefit for both parties: for him who speaks, in holding in memory and setting forth correctly things uttered of old;⁵ and for him who hears, in giving attention to the things spoken. Since, then, in this there is a work assigned to both parties together, viz. to him who speaks, that he speak forth faithfully without regard to risk,⁶ and to him who hears, that he hear and receive in faith that which is spoken, I beseech you to strive together with me in prayer to God.

3. Do you wish then to know in what manner the Word of God, who was again the Son of God,⁷ as He was of old

¹ 2 Pet. i. 21.

² The text reads *μὴ πλανῶ* (= that I may not deceive). Some propose *ὡς πλάνοι* = as deceivers.

³ This is according to the emendation of Combefisius.

⁴ 1 Sam. ix. 9.

⁵ In the text it is *προκειμένα* (= things before us or proposed to us), for which Combefisius proposes, as in our rendering, *προειρημένα*.

⁶ The original is *ἀκίνδυνον*.

⁷ Isa. xlii. 1; Matt. xii. 18. The text is *αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ*

the Word, communicated His revelations to the blessed prophets in former times? Well, as the Word shows His compassion and His denial of all respect of persons by all the saints, He enlightens them,¹ and adapts them to that which is advantageous for us, like a skilful physician, understanding the weakness of men. And the ignorant He loves to teach, and the erring He turns again to His own true way. And by those who live by faith He is easily found; and to those of pure eye and holy heart, who desire to knock at the door, He opens immediately. For He casts away none of His servants as unworthy of the divine mysteries. He does not esteem the rich man more highly than the poor, nor does He despise the poor man for his poverty. He does not disdain the barbarian, nor does He set the eunuch aside as no man. He does not hate the female on account of the woman's act of disobedience in the beginning, nor does He reject the male on account of the man's transgression. But He seeks all, and desires to save all, wishing to make all the children of God, and calling all the saints unto one perfect man. For there is also one Son (or Servant) of God, by whom we too, receiving the regeneration through the Holy Spirit, desire to come all unto one perfect and heavenly man.²

4. For whereas the Word of God was without flesh,³ He took upon Himself the holy flesh by the holy Virgin, and prepared a robe which He wove for Himself, like a bridegroom, in the sufferings of the cross, in order that by uniting His own power with our mortal body, and by mixing⁴ the incorruptible with the corruptible, and the strong with the weak, He might save perishing man. The web-beam, therefore, is the passion of the Lord upon the cross, and the warp on it

παῖς. See Macarius, *Divinitas D. N. S. C.* book iv. ch. xiii. p. 460, and Grabe on Bull's *Defens. Fid. Nic.* p. 101.

¹ Reading αὐτούς for αὐτόν.

² Eph. iv. 13.

³ The text has ὂν = being, for which read ᾗν = was.

⁴ μίξας. Thomassin, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, iii. 5, cites the most distinguished of the Greek and Latin fathers, who taught that a mingling (*commistio*), without confusion indeed, but yet most thorough, of the two natures, is the bond and nexus of the personal unity.

is the power of the Holy Spirit, and the woof is the holy flesh wrought (woven) by the Spirit, and the thread is the grace which by the love of Christ binds and unites the two in one, and the combs (or rods) are the Word; and the workers are the patriarchs and prophets who weave the fair, long, perfect tunic for Christ; and the Word passing through these, like the combs (or rods), completes through them that which His Father willeth.

5. But as time now presses for the consideration of the question immediately in hand, and as what has been already said in the introduction with regard to the glory of God, may suffice, it is proper that we take the holy Scriptures themselves in hand, and find out from them what, and of what manner, the coming of Antichrist is; on what occasion and at what time that impious one shall be revealed; and whence and from what tribe (he shall come); and what his name is, which is indicated by the number in the Scripture; and how he shall work error among the people, gathering them from the ends of the earth; and (how) he shall stir up tribulation and persecution against the saints; and how he shall glorify himself as God; and what his end shall be; and how the sudden appearing of the Lord shall be revealed from heaven; and what the conflagration of the whole world shall be; and what the glorious and heavenly kingdom of the saints is to be, when they reign together with Christ; and what the punishment of the wicked by fire.

6. Now, as our Lord Jesus Christ, who is also God, was prophesied of under the figure of a lion,¹ on account of His royalty and glory, in the same way have the Scriptures also aforetime spoken of Antichrist as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence. For the deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a lion, so Antichrist is also a lion; Christ is a king,² so Antichrist is also a king. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb;³ so he too, in like manner, will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Saviour came into the world in the circumcision, and he will come in the same manner. The Lord sent

¹ Rev. v. 5.

² John xviii. 37.

³ John i. 29.

apostles among all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Saviour gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad,¹ and he in like manner will bring together a people that is scattered abroad. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed on Him, and he will give one in like manner. The Saviour appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in the form of a man. The Saviour raised up and showed His holy flesh like a temple,² and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem. And his seductive arts we shall exhibit in what follows. But for the present let us turn to the question in hand.

7. Now the blessed Jacob speaks to the following effect in his benedictions, testifying prophetically of our Lord and Saviour: "Judah, let thy brethren praise thee: thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the shoot, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp; who shall rouse him up? A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations. Binding his ass to a vine, and his ass's colt to the vine tendril; he shall wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grapes. His eyes shall be gladsome as with wine, and his teeth shall be whiter than milk."³

✓ 8. Knowing, then, as I do, how to explain these things in detail, I deem it right at present to quote the words themselves. But since the expressions themselves urge us to speak of them, I shall not omit to do so. For these are truly divine and glorious things, and things well calculated to benefit the soul. The prophet, in using the expression, *a lion's whelp*, means him who sprang from Judah and David according to the flesh, who was not made indeed of the seed of David, but was conceived by the (power of the) Holy Ghost, and came forth⁴ from the holy shoot of earth. For

¹ John xi. 52.

² John ii. 19.

³ Gen. xlix. 8-12.

⁴ The text has τούτου—προερχομένου, for which we read, with Combefisius, προερχόμενον.

Isaiah says, "There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow up out of it."¹ That which is called by Isaiah a *flower*, Jacob calls a shoot. For first he shot forth, and then he flourished in the world. And the expression, "he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp," refers to the three days' sleep (death, couching) of Christ; as also Isaiah says, "How is faithful Sion become an harlot! it was full of judgment; in which righteousness lodged (couched); but now murderers."² And David says to the same effect, "I laid me down (couched) and slept; I awaked: for the Lord will sustain me;"³ in which words he points to the fact of his sleep and rising again. And Jacob says, "Who shall rouse him up?" And that is just what David and Paul both refer to, as when Paul says, "and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead."⁴

9. And in saying, "A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations," he referred the fulfilment (of that prophecy) to Christ. For He is our expectation. For we expect Him, (and) by faith we behold Him as He comes from heaven with power.

10. "Binding his ass to a vine:" that means that He unites His people of the circumcision with His own calling (vocation). For He was the vine.⁵ "And his ass's colt to the vine-tendril:" that denotes the people of the Gentiles, as He calls the circumcision and the uncircumcision unto one faith.

11. "He shall wash his garment in wine," that is, according to that voice of His Father which came down by the Holy Ghost at the Jordan.⁶ "And his clothes in the blood

¹ Isa. xi. 1.

² Isa. i. 21.

³ Ps. iii. 5.

⁴ Gal. i. 1.

⁵ John xv. 1.

⁶ The text gives simply, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου, etc. = the *paternal voice of the Holy Ghost*, etc. As this would seem to represent the Holy Ghost as the Father of Christ, Combefisius proposes, as in our rendering, κατὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, etc. The *wine*, therefore, is taken as a figure of His *deity*, and the garment as a figure of His *humanity*; and the sense would be, that He has the latter imbued with the former in a way peculiar to Himself—even as the voice at the Jordan declared Him to be the

of the grape." In the blood of what grape, then, but just His own flesh, which hung upon the tree like a cluster of grapes?—from whose side also flowed two streams, of blood and water, in which the nations are washed and purified, which (nations) He may be supposed to have as a robe about Him.¹

12. "His eyes gladsome with wine." And what are the eyes of Christ but the blessed prophets, who foresaw in the Spirit, and announced beforehand, the sufferings that were to befall Him, and rejoiced in seeing Him in power with spiritual eyes, being furnished (for their vocation) by the word Himself and His grace?

13. And in saying, "And his teeth (shall be) whiter than milk," he referred to the commandments that proceed from the holy mouth of Christ, and which are pure (purify) as milk.

14. Thus did the Scriptures preach beforetime of this lion and lion's whelp. And in like manner also we find it written regarding Antichrist. For Moses speaks thus: "Dan is a lion's whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan."² But that no one may err by supposing that this is said of the Saviour, let him attend carefully to the matter. "Dan," he says, "is a lion's whelp;" and in naming the tribe of Dan, he declared clearly the tribe from which Antichrist is destined to spring. For as Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan. And that the case stands thus, we see also from the words of Jacob: "Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse's heel."³ What, then, is meant by the serpent but Antichrist, that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis,⁴ who deceived Eve and supplanted Adam (*πτερνίσας*, bruised Adam's heel)? But since it is necessary to prove this assertion by sufficient testimony, we shall not shrink from the task.

15. That it is in reality out of the tribe of Dan, then, that

Father's Son, not His Son by adoption, but His *own* Son, anointed as man with divinity itself.

¹ The nations are compared to a robe about Christ, as something foreign to Himself, and deriving all their gifts from Him.

² Deut. xxxiii. 22.

³ Gen. xlix. 17.

⁴ Gen. iii. 1.

that tyrant and king, that dread judge, that son of the devil, is destined to spring and arise, the prophet testifies when he says, "Dan shall judge his people, as (he is) also one tribe in Israel."¹ But some one may say that this refers to Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged the people twenty years. Well, the prophecy had its partial fulfilment in Samson, but its complete fulfilment is reserved for Antichrist. For Jeremiah also speaks to this effect: "From Dan we are to hear the sound of the swiftness of his horses: the whole land trembled [at the sound of the neighing, of the driving of his horses]"². And another prophet says: "He shall gather together all his strength, from the east even to the west. They whom he calls, and they whom he calls not, shall go with him. He shall make the sea white with the sails of his ships, and the plain black with the shields of his armaments. And whosoever shall oppose him in war shall fall by the sword."³ That these things, then, are said of no one else but that tyrant, and shameless one, and adversary of God, we shall show in what follows.

16. But Isaiah also speaks thus: "And it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed His whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, He will punish (visit) the stout mind, the king of Assyria, and the greatness (height) of the glory of his eyes. For he said, By my strength will I do it, and by the wisdom of my understanding I will remove the bounds of the peoples, and will rob them of their strength: and I will make the inhabited cities tremble, and will gather the whole world in my hand like a nest, and I will lift it up like eggs that are left. And there is no one that shall escape or gainsay me, [and open the mouth and chatter. Shall the axe boast itself without him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself without him that shaketh (draweth) it? As if one should raise a rod or a staff, and the staff should lift itself up]: and not thus. But the Lord shall send dishonour unto thy honour; and into thy glory a burning fire shall burn. And the light of Israel shall

¹ Gen. xlix. 16.

² Jer. viii. 16.

³ Perhaps from an apocryphal book, as also below in ch. liv.

be a fire, and shall sanctify him in flame, and shall consume the forest like grass.”¹

17. And again he says in another place : “ How hath the exactor ceased, and how hath the oppressor ceased !² God hath broken the yoke of the rulers of sinners, He who smote the people in wrath, and with an incurable stroke : He that strikes the people with an incurable stroke, which He did not spare. He ceased (rested) confidently : the whole earth shouts with rejoicing. The trees of Lebanon rejoiced at thee, and the cedar of Lebanon, (saying), Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is moved at meeting thee : all the mighty ones, the rulers of the earth, are gathered together—the lords from their thrones. All the kings of the nations, all they shall answer together, and shall say, And thou, too, art taken as we ; and thou art reckoned among us. Thy pomp is brought down to earth, thy great rejoicing : they will spread decay under thee ; and the worm shall be thy covering.³ How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning (*lit.* that risest early) ! He is cast down to the ground who sends off to all the nations. And thou didst say in thy mind, I will ascend into heaven, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven : I will sit down upon the lofty mountains towards the north : I will ascend above the clouds : I will be like the Most High. Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell, and to the foundations of the earth ! They that see thee shall wonder at thee, and shall say, This is the man that excited the earth, that did shake kings, that made the whole world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities, that released not those in prison.⁴ All the kings of the earth did lie in honour, every one in his own house ; but thou shalt be cast out on the mountains like a loathsome carcase, with many who fall, pierced through with the sword, and going down to hell. As a garment stained with blood is not pure, so neither shalt thou be comely (or clean) ; because thou hast destroyed my land, and slain

¹ Isa. x. 12–17.

² ἐπισπουδαστής.

³ κατακάλυμμα ; other reading, κατέλειμμα = remains.

⁴ The text gives ἐπαγωγῆ. Combefisius prefers ἀπαγωγῆ = trial.

my people. Thou shalt not abide, enduring for ever, a wicked seed. Prepare thy children for slaughter, for the sins of thy father, that they rise not, neither possess my land.”¹

18. Ezekiel also speaks of him to the same effect, thus : “ Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the sea ; yet art thou a man, and not God, (though) thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God. Art thou wiser than Daniel ? Have the wise not instructed thee in their wisdom ? With thy wisdom or with thine understanding hast thou gotten thee power, and gold and silver in thy treasures ? By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic² hast thou increased thy power ? Thy heart is lifted up in thy power. Therefore thus saith the Lord God : Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God : behold, therefore I will bring strangers³ upon thee, plagues from the nations : and they shall draw their swords against thee, and against the beauty of thy wisdom ; and they shall level thy beauty to destruction ; and they shall bring thee down ; and thou shalt die by the death of the wounded in the midst of the sea. Wilt thou yet say [before them that slay thee, I am God ? But thou art a man, and no God, in the hand of them that wound thee. Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hand of] strangers : for I have spoken it, saith the Lord.”⁴

19. These words then being thus presented, let us observe somewhat in detail what Daniel says in his visions. For in distinguishing the kingdoms that are to rise after these things, he showed also the coming of Antichrist in the last times, and the consummation of the whole world. In expounding the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, then, he speaks thus : “ Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image standing before thy face : the head of which was of fine gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, and its

¹ Isa. xiv. 4-21.

² *i.e.* according to the reading, ἐμπορία. The text is ἐμπειρία = *experience*.

³ There is another reading, λιμοὶς (= *famines*) τῶν ἐθνῶν.

⁴ Ezek. xxviii. 2-10.

legs of iron, (and) its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest, then, till that a stone was cut out without hands, and smote the image upon the feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to an end. Then were the clay, the iron, the brass, the silver, (and) the gold broken, and became like the chaff from the summer threshing-floor; and the strength (fulness) of the wind carried them away, and there was no place found for them. And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."¹

20. Now if we set Daniel's own visions also side by side with this, we shall have one exposition to give of the two together, and shall (be able to) show how concordant with each other they are, and how true. For he speaks thus: "I Daniel saw, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first (was) like a lioness, and had wings as of an eagle. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold a second beast like to a bear, and it was made stand on one part, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it."² I beheld, and lo a beast like a leopard, and it had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, and the beast had four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; it had iron teeth [and claws of brass³], which devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold in this horn

¹ Dan. ii. 31-35.

² Combesius adds, "between the teeth of it: and they said thus to it, Arise, devour much flesh."

³ Combesius inserted these words, because he thought that they must have been in the vision, as they occur subsequently in the explanation of the vision (v. 19).

were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.”¹

21. “I beheld till the thrones were set, and the Ancient of days did sit: and His garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like pure wool: His throne was a flame of fire, His wheels were a burning fire. A stream of fire flowed before Him. Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, till the beast was slain and perished, and his body given to the burning of fire. And the dominion of the other beasts was taken away.”²

22. “I saw in the night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and honour, and the kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.”³

23. Now since these things, spoken as they are with a mystical meaning, may seem to some hard to understand, we shall keep back nothing fitted to impart an intelligent apprehension of them to those who are possessed of a sound mind. He said, then, that a “lioness came up from the sea,” and by that he meant the kingdom of the Babylonians in the world, which also was the head of gold on the image. In saying that “it had wings as of an eagle,” he meant that Nebuchadnezzar the king was lifted up and was exalted against God. Then he says, “the wings thereof were plucked,” that is to say, his glory was destroyed; for he was driven out of his kingdom. And the words, “a man’s heart was given to it, and it was made stand upon the feet as a man,” refer to the fact that he repented and recognised himself to be only a man, and gave the glory to God.

24. Then, after the lioness, he sees a “second beast like a bear,” and that denoted the Persians. For after the Baby-

¹ Dan. vii. 2-8.

² Dan. vii. 9-12.

³ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

lonians, the Persians held the sovereign power. And in saying that there were "three ribs in the mouth of it," he pointed to three nations, viz. the Persians, and the Medes, and the Babylonians; which were also represented on the image by the silver after the gold. Then (there was) "the third beast, a leopard," which meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon obtained the sovereign power on subverting Darius, as is also shown by the brass on the image. And in saying that it had "four wings of a fowl," he taught us most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was partitioned. For in speaking of "four heads," he made mention of four kings, viz. those who arose out of that (kingdom).¹ For Alexander, when dying, partitioned out his kingdom into four divisions.

25. Then he says: "A fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; it had iron teeth and claws of brass." And who are these but the Romans? which (kingdom) is meant by the iron—the kingdom which is now established; for the legs of that (image) were of iron. And after this, what remains, beloved, but the toes of the feet of the image, in which part is iron and part clay, mixed together? And mystically by the toes of the feet he meant the kings who are to arise from among them; as Daniel also says (in the words), "I considered the beast, and lo there were ten horns behind it, among which shall rise another (horn), an offshoot, and shall pluck up by the roots the three (that were) before it." And under this was signified none other than Antichrist, who is also himself to raise the kingdom of the Jews. He says that three horns are plucked up by the root by him, viz. the three kings of Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he cuts off in the array of battle. And he, after gaining terrible power over all, being nevertheless a tyrant,² shall stir up tribulation and persecution against men, exalting himself against them. For Daniel says: "I considered the horn, and behold that horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them,

¹ See Curtius, x. 10. That Alexander himself divided his kingdom is asserted by Josephus Gorionides (iii.) and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4, *De Sacra Scriptura*), and others.

² For ὅμως = nevertheless, Gudius suggests ὁμός = savage.

till the beast was slain and perished, and its body was given to the burning of fire.”¹

26. After a little space the stone² will come from heaven which smites the image and breaks it in pieces, and subverts all the kingdoms, and gives the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth, of which Daniel says: “I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve Him: and His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.”³ He showed all power given by the Father to the Son,⁴ who is ordained Lord of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and Judge of all:⁵ of things in heaven, because He was born, the Word of God, before all (ages); and of things on earth, because He became man in the midst of men, to re-create our Adam through Himself; and of things under the earth, because He was also reckoned among the dead, preaching the gospel to the souls of the saints,⁶ (and) by death overcoming death.

27. As these things, then, are in the future, and as the ten toes of the image are equivalent to (so many) democracies, and the ten horns of the fourth beast are distributed over ten kingdoms, let us look at the subject a little more closely, and consider these matters as in the clear light of a personal survey (*ὁφθαλμοφανῶς*).

28. The golden head of the image and the lioness denoted the Babylonians; the shoulders and arms of silver, and the bear, represented the Persians and Medes; the belly and thighs of brass, and the leopard, meant the Greeks, who held the sovereignty from Alexander’s time; the legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible, expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present; the toes of the feet which

¹ Dan. vii. 21, 11.

² Dan. ii. 34, 45.

³ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 18.

⁵ Phil. ii. 10.

⁶ 1 Pet. iii. 19.

were part clay and part iron, and the ten horns, were emblems of the kingdoms that are yet to rise ; the other little horn that grows up among them meant the Antichrist in their midst ; the stone that smites the earth and brings judgment upon the world was Christ.

29. These things, beloved, we impart to you with fear, and yet readily, on account of the love of Christ, which surpasseth all. For if the blessed prophets who preceded us did not choose to proclaim these things, though they knew them, openly and boldly, lest they should disquiet the souls of men, but recounted them mystically in parables and dark sayings, speaking thus, "Here is the mind which hath wisdom,"¹ how much greater risk shall we run in venturing to declare openly things spoken by them in obscure terms ! Let us look, therefore, at the things which are to befall this unclean harlot in the last days ; and (let us consider) what and what manner of tribulation is destined to visit her in the wrath of God before the judgment as an earnest of her doom.

30. Come, then, O blessed Isaiah ; arise, tell us clearly what thou didst prophesy with respect to the mighty Babylon. For thou didst speak also of Jerusalem, and thy word is accomplished. For thou didst speak boldly and openly : "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire ; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by many strangers."² The daughter of Sion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city."³ What then ? Are not these things come to pass ? Are not the things announced by thee fulfilled ? Is not their country, Judea, desolate ? Is not the holy place burned with fire ? Are not their walls cast down ? Are not their cities destroyed ? Their land, do not strangers devour it ? Do not the Romans rule the country ? And indeed these impious people hated thee, and did saw thee asunder, and they crucified Christ. Thou art dead in the world, but thou livest in Christ.

¹ Rev. xvii. 9.

² For ὑπὸ πολλῶν Combesisus has ὑπὸ λαῶν = by peoples.

³ Isa. i. 7, 8.

31. Which of you, then, shall I esteem more than thee? Yet Jeremiah, too, is stoned. But if I should esteem Jeremiah most, yet Daniel too has his testimony. Daniel, I commend thee above all; yet John too gives no false witness. With how many mouths and tongues would I praise you; or rather the Word who spake in you! Ye died with Christ; and ye will live with Christ. Hear ye, and rejoice; behold the things announced by you have been fulfilled in their time. For ye saw these things yourselves first, and then ye proclaimed them to all generations. Ye ministered the oracles of God to all generations. Ye prophets were called, that ye might be able to save all. For then is one a prophet indeed, when, having announced beforetime things about to be, he can afterwards show that they have actually happened. Ye were the disciples of a good Master. These words I address to you as if alive, and with propriety. For ye hold already the crown of life and immortality which is laid up for you in heaven.¹

32. Speak with me, O blessed Daniel. Give me full assurance, I beseech thee. Thou dost prophesy concerning the lioness in Babylon;² for thou wast a captive there. Thou hast unfolded the future regarding the bear; for thou wast still in the world, and didst see the things come to pass. Then thou speakest to me of the leopard; and whence canst thou know this, for thou art already gone to thy rest? Who instructed thee to announce these things, but He who formed³ thee in (from) thy mother's womb?⁴ That is God, thou sayest. Thou hast spoken indeed, and that not falsely. The leopard has arisen; the he-goat is come; he hath smitten the ram; he hath broken his horns in pieces; he hath stamped upon him with his feet. He has been exalted by his fall; (the) four horns have come up from under that one.⁵ Rejoice, blessed Daniel! thou hast not been in error: all these things have come to pass.

33. After this again thou hast told me of the beast dread-

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 8.

² Dan. vii. 4.

³ For *πλάσας* Gudius proposes *ἀγιάσας* (sanctified) or *καλέσας* (called).

⁴ Jer. i. 5.

⁵ Dan. viii. 2-8.

ful and terrible. "It had iron teeth and claws of brass: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it."¹ Already the iron rules; already it subdues and breaks all in pieces; already it brings all the unwilling into subjection; already we see these things ourselves. Now we glorify God, being instructed by thee.

34. But as the task before us was to speak of the harlot, be thou with us, O blessed Isaiah. Let us mark what thou sayest about Babylon. "Come down, sit upon the ground, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit, O daughter of the Chaldeans; thou shalt no longer be called tender and delicate. Take the millstone, grind meal, draw aside thy veil,² shave the grey hairs, make bare the legs, pass over the rivers. Thy shame shall be uncovered, thy reproach shall be seen: I will take justice of thee, I will no more give thee over to men. As for thy Redeemer, (He is) the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel is his name. Sit thou in compunction, get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: thou shalt no longer be called the strength of the kingdom.

35. "I was wroth with my people; I have polluted mine inheritance, I have given them into thine hand: and thou didst show them no mercy; but upon the ancient (the elders) thou hast very heavily laid thy yoke. And thou saidst, I shall be a princess for ever: thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember thy latter end. Therefore hear now this, thou that art delicate; that sittest, that art confident, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and there is none else; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But now these two things shall come upon thee in one day, widowhood and the loss of children: they shall come upon thee suddenly in thy sorcery, in the strength of thine enchantments mightily, in the hope of thy fornication. For thou hast said, I am, and there is none else. And thy fornication shall be thy shame, because thou hast said in thy heart, I am. And destruction shall come upon thee, and thou shalt not know it. [(And there shall be) a pit, and thou shalt fall into it; and misery shall fall upon thee,

¹ Dan. vii. 6.

² For ἀναξήρισον others read ἀνακάλυψαι = uncover.

and thou shalt not be able to be made clean ; and destruction shall come upon thee, and thou shalt not know it.] Stand now with thy enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, which thou hast learned from thy youth ; if so be thou shalt be able to be profited. Thou art wearied in thy counsels. Let the astrologers of the heavens stand and save thee ; let the star-gazers announce to thee what shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall all be as sticks for the fire ; so shall they be burned, and they shall not deliver their soul from the flame. Because thou hast coals of fire, sit upon them ; so shall it be for thy help. Thou art wearied with change from thy youth. Man has gone astray (each one) by himself ; and there shall be no salvation for thee.”¹ These things does Isaiah prophesy for thee. Let us see now whether John has spoken to the same effect.

36. For he sees, when in the isle Patmos, a revelation of awful mysteries, which he recounts freely, and makes known to others. Tell me, blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord, what didst thou see and hear concerning Babylon ? Arise, and speak ; for it sent thee also into banishment. “ And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither ; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters ; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. And he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness : and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stone(s), and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness² of the fornication of the earth. Upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.

37. “ And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus : and when

¹ Isa. xlvii. 1-15.

² τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, for the received ἀκαθαρτότητος.

I saw her, I wondered with great admiration. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and the ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose name was not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet shall be.¹

38. "And here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was (and) is not, [even he is the eighth], and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful.

39. "And he saith to me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. And the ten horns which thou sawest, and² the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil His will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

40. "(And) after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily³ with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen,

¹ καὶ παρέσται, for the received καὶ πρὸ ἐστί.

² καὶ, for the received ἐπί.

³ ἰσχυρῶς for ἐν ἰσχύϊ.

and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, [and a cage of every unclean] and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues: for her sins did cleave even unto heaven,¹ and God hath remembered her iniquities.¹

41. "Reward her even as she rewarded (you), and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man shall buy their merchandise² any more. The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and spices,³ and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and goats,⁴ and horses, and chariots, and slaves (bodies), and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after

¹ ἐκολλήθησαν, for the received ἡκολούθησαν.

² ἀγοράσει, for the received ἀγοράζει.

³ ἄμωμον, omitted in the received text.

⁴ καὶ τράγους, omitted in the received text.

are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly have perished¹ from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The merchants of these things, which were made rich² by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city? And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her fatness!³ for in one hour is she made desolate.

42. "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye angels,⁴ and apostles, and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."⁵

43. With respect, then, to the particular judgment in the torments that are to come upon it in the last times by the hand of the tyrants who shall arise then, the clearest statement has been given in these passages. But it becomes us

¹ ἀπώλετο, for the received ἀπῆλθεν.

² πλουτίσαντες, for the received πλουτήσαντες.

³ πιότητος, for the received τιμιότητος.

⁴ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, which the received omits.

⁵ Rev. xvii. xviii.

further diligently to examine and set forth the period at which these things shall come to pass, and how the little horn shall spring up in their midst. For when the legs of iron have issued in the feet and toes, according to the similitude of the image and that of the terrible beast, as has been shown in the above, (then shall be the time) when the iron and the clay shall be mingled together. Now Daniel will set forth this subject to us. For he says, "And one week will make¹ a covenant with many, and it shall be that in the midst (half) of the week my sacrifice and oblation shall cease."² By one week, therefore, he meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world; of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach 1260 days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations.

44. For as two advents of our Lord and Saviour are indicated in the Scriptures, the one being His first advent in the flesh, which took place without honour by reason of His being set at nought, as Isaiah spake of Him aforetime, saying, "We saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness, but His form was despised (and) rejected (lit. = deficient) above all men; a man smitten and familiar with bearing infirmity, [for His face was turned away]; He was despised, and esteemed not."³ But His second advent is announced as glorious, when He shall come from heaven with the host of angels, and the glory of His Father, as the prophet saith, "Ye shall see the King in glory;"⁴ and, "I saw one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven; and he came to the Ancient of days, and he was brought to Him. And there were given Him dominion, and honour, and glory, and the kingdom; all tribes and languages shall serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away."⁵ Thus also two forerunners were indicated. The first was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared in all things a forerunner and herald of our Saviour, preaching of the heavenly light that had appeared in the world. He first ful-

¹ διαθήσει = will make; others, δυναμώσει = will confirm.

² Dan. ix. 27. ³ Isa. liii. 2-5. ⁴ Isa. xxxiii. 17. ⁵ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

filled the course of forerunner, and that from his mother's womb, being conceived by Elisabeth, in order that to those, too, who are children from their mother's womb he might declare the new birth that was to take place for their sakes by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin.

45. He, on hearing the salutation addressed to Elisabeth, leaped with joy in his mother's womb, recognising God the Word conceived in the womb of the Virgin. Thereafter he came forward preaching in the wilderness, proclaiming the baptism of repentance to the people, (and thus) announcing prophetically salvation to the nations living in the wilderness of the world. After this, at the Jordan, seeing the Saviour with his own eye, he points Him out, and says, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!"¹ He also first preached to those in Hades,² becoming a forerunner there when he was put to death by Herod, that there too he might intimate that the Saviour would descend to ransom the souls of the saints from the hand of death.

46. But since the Saviour was the beginning of the resurrection of all men, it was meet that the Lord alone should rise from the dead, by whom too the judgment is to enter for the whole world, that they who have wrestled worthily may be also crowned worthily by Him, by the illustrious Arbiter, to wit, who Himself first accomplished the course, and was received into the heavens, and was set down on the right hand of God the Father, and is to be manifested again at the end of the world as Judge. It is a matter of course that His forerunners must appear first, as He says by Malachi and the angel,³ "I

¹ John i. 29.

² It was a common opinion among the Greeks, that the Baptist was Christ's forerunner also among the dead. See Leo Allatius, *De libris eccles. Græcorum*, p. 303.

³ Or it may be, "Malachi, even the messenger." Ἀγγέλου is the reading restored by Combesius instead of Ἀγγαίου. The words of the angel in Luke i. 17 ("and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just") are thus inserted in the citation from Malachi; and to that Hippolytus may refer in the addition "and the angel." Or perhaps, as Combesius rather thinks, the addition simply refers to the meaning of the name Malachi, viz. messenger.

will send to you Elias the Tishbite before the day of the Lord, the great and notable day, comes; and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, lest I come and smite the earth utterly.”¹ These, then, shall come and proclaim the manifestation of Christ that is to be from heaven; and they shall also perform signs and wonders, in order that men may be put to shame and turned to repentance for their surpassing wickedness and impiety.

47. For John says, “And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.”² That is the half of the week whereof Daniel spake. “These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters, to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as [they will. And when] they shall have finished their course and their testimony,” what saith the prophet? “the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them,”³ because they will not give glory to Antichrist. For this is meant by the little horn that grows up. He being now elated in heart, begins to exalt himself, and to glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ, even as Daniel says, “I considered the horn, and, behold, in the horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things; and he opened his mouth to blaspheme God. And that horn made war against the saints, and prevailed against them until the beast was slain, and perished, and his body was given to be burned.”⁴

48. But as it is incumbent on us to discuss this matter of the beast more exactly, and in particular the question how the Holy Spirit has also mystically indicated his name by

¹ Mal. iv. 5, 6.

² Rev. xi. 3.

³ Rev. xi. 4-6.

⁴ Dan. vii. 8, 9.

means of a number, we shall proceed to state more clearly what bears upon him. John then speaks thus: "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns, like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exercised all the power of the first beast before him; and he made the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he did great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, [that the image of the beast should both speak], and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six."¹

49. By the beast, then, coming up out of the earth, he means the kingdom of Antichrist; and by the two horns he means him and the false prophet after him.² And in speaking of "the horns being like a lamb," he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as king. And the terms, "he spake like a dragon," mean that he is a deceiver, and not truthful. And the words, "he exercised all the power of the first beast before him, and caused the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed," signify that, after the manner of the law of Augustus, by whom the

¹ Rev. xiii. 11-18.

² The text is simply *καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτόν* = the false prophet after him. Gudius and Combefisius propose as above, *καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτόν*, or *μετ' αὐτοῦ* = him and the false prophet *with* him.

empire of Rome was established, he too will rule and govern, sanctioning everything by it, and taking greater glory to himself. For this is the fourth beast, whose head was wounded and healed again, in its being broken up or even dishonoured, and partitioned into four crowns; and he then (Antichrist) shall with knavish skill heal it, as it were, and restore it. For this is what is meant by the prophet when he says, "He will give life unto the image, and the image of the beast will speak." For he will act with vigour again, and prove strong by reason of the laws established by him; and he will cause all those who will not worship the image of the beast to be put to death. Here the faith and the patience of the saints will appear, for he says: "And he will cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name." For, being full of guile, and exalting himself against the servants of God, with the wish to afflict them and persecute them out of the world, because they give not glory to him, he will order incense-pans¹ to be set up by all everywhere, that no man among the saints may be able to buy or sell without first sacrificing; for this is what is meant by the mark received upon the right hand. And the word "in their forehead" indicates that all are crowned, and put on a crown of fire, and not of life, but of death. For in this wise, too, did Antiochus Epiphanes the king of Syria, the descendant of Alexander of Macedon, devise measures against the Jews. He, too, in the exaltation of his heart, issued a decree in those times, that *all should set up shrines before their doors, and sacrifice, and that they should march in procession to the honour of Dionysus, waving chaplets of ivy*; and that those who refused obedience should be put to death by strangulation and torture. But he also met his due recompense at the hand of the Lord, the righteous Judge and all-searching God; for he died eaten up of worms. And if

¹ *πυρσεῖα* = censers, incense-pans, or sacrificial tripods. This offering of incense was a test very commonly proposed by the pagans to those whose religion they suspected.

one desires to inquire into that more accurately, he will find it recorded in the books of the Maccabees.

50. But now we shall speak of what is before us. For such measures will he, too, devise, seeking to afflict the saints in every way. For the prophet and apostle says: "Here is wisdom, Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six." With respect to his name, it is not in our power to explain it exactly, as the blessed John understood it and was instructed about it, but only to give a conjectural account of it;¹ for when he appears, the blessed one will show us what we seek to know. Yet as far as our doubtful apprehension of the matter goes, we may speak. Many names indeed we find,² the letters of which are the equivalent of this number: such as, for instance, the word Titan,³ an ancient and notable name; or Evanthas,⁴ for it too makes up the same number; and many others which might be found. But, as we have already said,⁵ the wound of the first beast was healed, and he (the second beast) was to make the image speak,⁶ that is to say, he should be powerful; and it is manifest to all that those who at present still hold the power are Latins. If, then, we take the name as the name of a single man, it becomes *Latinus*. Wherefore we ought neither to give it out as if this were certainly his name, nor again ignore the fact that he may not be otherwise designated. But having the mystery of God in our heart, we ought in fear to keep faithfully what has been told us by the blessed prophets, in order that when those things come to pass, we may be prepared for them, and not deceived. For when the times advance, he too, of whom these things are said, will be manifested.

¹ ὅσον μόνον ὑπονοῇσαι.

² ἰσοψηφα.

³ Τειτάν. Hippolytus here follows his master Irenæus, who in his *Contra hæres.* v. 30, § 3, has the words, "*Titan . . . et antiquum et fide dignum et regale . . . nomen*" = Titan . . . both an ancient and good and royal . . . name.

⁴ Εὐάνθας, mentioned also by Irenæus in the passage already referred to.

⁵ πρέφθημεν, the reading proposed by Fabricius instead of πρέφημεν.

⁶ ποιήσει, Combef. ἐποίησε.

51. But not to confine ourselves to these words and arguments alone, for the purpose of convincing those who love to study the oracles of God, we shall demonstrate the matter by many other proofs. For Daniel says, "And these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon."¹ Ammon and Moab² are the children born to Lot by his daughters, and their race survives even now. And Isaiah says: "And they shall fly in the boats of strangers, plundering the sea together, and (they shall spoil) them of the east: and they shall lay hands upon Moab first; and the children of Ammon shall first obey them."³

52. In those times, then, he shall arise and meet them. And when he has overmastered three horns out of the ten in the array of war, and has rooted these out, viz. Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, and has got their spoils and trappings, and has brought the remaining horns which suffer into subjection, he will begin to be lifted up in heart, and to exalt himself against God as master of the whole world. And his first expedition will be against Tyre and Berytus, and the circumjacent territory. For by storming these cities first he will strike terror into the others, as Isaiah says, "Be thou ashamed, O Sidon; the sea hath spoken, even the strength of the sea hath spoken, saying, I travailed not, nor brought forth children; neither did I nurse up young men, nor bring up virgins. But when the report comes to Egypt, pain shall seize them for Tyre."⁴

53. These things, then, shall be in the future, beloved; and when the three horns are cut off, he will begin to show himself as God, as Ezekiel has said aforetime: "Because thy heart has been lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God."⁵ And to the like effect Isaiah says: "For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven: I will be like the Most High. Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell (Hades), to the foundations of the earth."⁶ In like manner also Ezekiel:

¹ Dan. xi. 41.² Gen. xix. 37, 38.³ Isa. xi. 14.⁴ Isa. xxiii. 4, 5.⁵ Ezek. xxviii. 2.⁶ Isa. xiv. 13-15.

“Wilt thou yet say to those who slay thee, I am God? But thou (shalt be) a man, and no God.”¹

54. As his tribe, then, and his manifestation, and his destruction, have been set forth in these words, and as his name has also been indicated mystically, let us look also at his action. For he will call together all the people to himself, out of every country of the dispersion, making them his own, as though they were his own children, and promising to restore their country, and establish again their kingdom and nation, in order that he may be worshipped by them as God, as the prophet says: “He will collect his whole kingdom, from the rising of the sun even to its setting: they whom he summons and they whom he does not summon shall march with him.”² And Jeremiah speaks of him thus in a parable: “The partridge cried, (and) gathered what he did not hatch, making himself riches without judgment: in the midst of his days they shall leave him, and at his end he shall be a fool.”³

55. It will not be detrimental, therefore, to the course of our present argument, if we explain the art of that creature, and show that the prophet has not spoken⁴ without a purpose in using the parable (or similitude) of the creature. For as the partridge is a vainglorious creature, when it sees near at hand the nest of another partridge with young in it, and with the parent-bird away on the wing in quest of food, it imitates the cry of the other bird, and calls the young to itself; and they taking it to be their own parent, run to it. And it delights itself proudly in the alien pullets as in its own. But when the real parent-bird returns, and calls them with its own familiar cry, the young recognise it, and forsake the deceiver, and betake themselves to the real parent. This thing, then, the prophet has adopted as a simile, applying it in a similar manner to Antichrist. For he will (endeavour to) allure mankind to himself, wishing to gain possession of those who are not his own, and promising deliverance to all, while he is unable to save himself.

¹ Ezek. xxviii. 9.

² Quoted already in chap. xv. as from one of the prophets.

³ Jer. xvii. 11.

⁴ Reading ἀπεφύνατο for ἀπεχρίνατο.

56. He then, having gathered to himself the unbelieving everywhere throughout the world, comes at their call to persecute the saints, their enemies and antagonists, as the apostle and evangelist says: "There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man: and there was a widow in that city, who came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her."¹

57. By the unrighteous judge, who fears not God, neither regards man, he means without doubt Antichrist, as he is a son of the devil and a vessel of Satan. For when he has the power, he will begin to exalt himself against God, neither in truth fearing God, nor regarding the Son of God, who is the Judge of all. And in saying that there was a widow in the city, he refers to Jerusalem itself, which is a widow indeed, forsaken of her perfect, heavenly spouse, God. She calls Him her adversary, and not her Saviour; for she does not understand that which was said by the prophet Jeremiah: "Because they obeyed not the truth, a spirit of error shall speak then to this people and to Jerusalem."² And Isaiah also to the like effect: "Forasmuch as the people refuseth to drink the water of Siloam that goeth softly, but chooseth to have Rasin and Romeliah's son as king over you: therefore, lo, the Lord bringeth up upon you the water of the river, strong and full, even the king of Assyria."³ By the king he means metaphorically Antichrist, as also another prophet saith: "And this man shall be the peace from me, when the Assyrian shall come up into your land, and when he shall tread in your mountains."⁴

58. And in like manner Moses, knowing beforehand that

¹ Luke xviii. 2-5.

² Jer. iv. 11

³ Isa. viii. 6, 7.

⁴ Mic. v. 5. The Septuagint reads *αὐτῷ* = And (he) shall be the peace to it. Hippolytus follows the Hebrew, but makes the pronoun feminine, *αὐτῇ* referring to the peace. Again Hippolytus reads *ὄρη* = mountains, where the Septuagint has *χώραι* = land, and where the Hebrew word = fortresses or palaces.

the people would reject and disown the true Saviour of the world, and take part with error, and choose an earthly king, and set the heavenly King at nought, says : “ Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures ? In the day of vengeance I will recompense (them), and in the time when their foot shall slide.”¹ They did slide, therefore, in all things, as they were found to be in harmony with the truth in nothing : neither as concerns the law, because they became transgressors ; nor as concerns the prophets, because they cut off even the prophets themselves ; nor as concerns the voice of the Gospels, because they crucified the Saviour Himself ; nor in believing the apostles, because they persecuted them. At all times they showed themselves enemies and betrayers of the truth, and were found to be haters of God, and not lovers of Him ; and such they shall be then when they find opportunity : for, rousing themselves against the servants of God, they will seek to obtain vengeance by the hand of a mortal man. And he, being puffed up with pride by their subserviency, will begin to despatch missives against the saints, commanding to cut them all off everywhere, on the ground of their refusal to reverence and worship him as God, according to the word of Esaias : “ Woe to the wings of the vessels of the land,² beyond the rivers of Ethiopia : (woe to him) who sendeth sureties by the sea, and letters of papyrus (upon the water ; for nimble messengers will go) to a nation³ anxious and expectant, and a people strange and bitter against them ; a nation hopeless and trodden down.”⁴

59. But we who hope for the Son of God are persecuted and trodden down by those unbelievers. For the *wings of the vessels* are the churches ; and the sea is the world, in which the church is set, like a ship tossed in the deep, but not destroyed ; for she has with her the skilled Pilot, Christ. And she bears in her midst also the trophy (which is erected) over death ; for she carries with her the cross of the Lord.⁵

¹ Deut. xxxii. 34, 35.

² οὐαὶ γῆς πλοίων πτέρυγες.

³ μετέωρον.

⁴ Isa. xviii. 1, 2.

⁵ Wordsworth, reading ὡς ἰστέον for ὡς τέον, would add, *like a mast*. See his Commentary on Acts xxvii. 40.

For her prow is the east, and her stern is the west, and her hold¹ is the south, and her tillers are the two Testaments; and the ropes that stretch around her are the love of Christ, which binds the church; and the net² which she bears with her is the laver of the regeneration which renews the believing, whence too are these glories. As the wind the Spirit from heaven is present, by whom those who believe are sealed: she has also anchors of iron accompanying her, viz. the holy commandments of Christ Himself, which are strong as iron. She has also mariners on the right and on the left, assessors like the holy angels, by whom the church is always governed and defended. The ladder in her leading up to the sailyard is an emblem of the passion of Christ, which brings the faithful to the ascent of heaven. And the *psephari*³ (top-sails) aloft⁴ upon the yard are the company of prophets, martyrs, and apostles, who have entered into their rest in the kingdom of Christ.

60. Now, concerning the tribulation of the persecution which is to fall upon the church from the adversary, John also speaks thus: "And I saw a great and wondrous sign in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she, being with child, cries, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child, who is to rule all the nations: and the child was caught up unto God and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath the place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And then when the dragon saw (it), he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man (child). And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly

¹ *κύτος*, a conjecture of Combefisius for *κύκλον*.

² *λίον*, proposed by the same for *πλοῖον*, boat.

³ *ψηφάραι*, a term of doubtful meaning. May it refer to the *καρχήσια*?

⁴ The text reads here *αἰνούμενοι*, for which *αἰρούμενοι* is proposed, or better, *ἡαρούμενοι*.

into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast (out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast) out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the saints of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.”¹

61. By the “woman then clothed with the sun,” he meant most manifestly the church, endued with the Father’s word,² whose brightness is above the sun. And by “the moon under her feet” he referred to her being adorned, like the moon, with heavenly glory. And the words, “upon her head a crown of twelve stars,” refer to the twelve apostles by whom the church was founded. And those, “she, being with child, cries, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered,” mean that the church will not cease to bear from her heart (γεννώσα ἐκ καρδίας) the Word that is persecuted by the unbelieving in the world. “And she brought forth,” he says, “a man-child, who is to rule all the nations;” by which is meant that the church, always bringing forth Christ, the perfect man-child of God, who is declared to be God and man, becomes the instructor of all the nations. And the words, “her child was caught up unto God and to His throne,” signify that he who is always born of her is a heavenly king, and not an earthly; even as David also declared of old when he said, “The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.”³ “And the dragon,” he says, “saw and persecuted the woman which brought forth the man (child). And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.”⁴ That refers to the one thousand two hundred and threescore days (the half of the week) during which the tyrant is to reign and persecute the church, which

¹ Rev. xii. 1-6, etc.

³ Ps. cx. 1.

² τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Πατρὸς.

⁴ Rev. xi. 3.

flees from city to city, and seeks concealment in the wilderness among the mountains, possessed of no other defence than the two wings of the great eagle, that is to say, the faith of Jesus Christ, who, in stretching forth His holy hands on the holy tree, unfolded two wings, the right and the left, and called to Him all who believed upon Him, and covered them as a hen her chickens. For by the mouth of Malachi also He speaks thus: "And unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."¹

62. The Lord also says, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand), then let them which be in Judæa flee into the mountains; and let him which is on the housetop not come down to take his clothes; neither let him which is in the field return back to take anything out of his house. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved."² And Daniel says, "And they shall place the abomination of desolation a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand two hundred and ninety-five days."³

63. And the blessed Apostle Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, says: "Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together at it,⁴ that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letters as from us, as that the day of the Lord is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for (that day shall not come) except there come the falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that

¹ Mal. iv. 2.

² Matt. xxiv. 15-22; Mark xiii. 14-20; Luke xxi. 20-23.

³ Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11, 12. The Hebrew has 1335 as the number in the second verse.

⁴ Hippolytus reads here ἐπ' αὐτῆς instead of ἐπ' αὐτόν, and makes the pronoun therefore refer to the coming.

is called God, or that is worshipped : so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things ? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work ; only he who now letteth (will let), until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the Spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming : (even him) whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish ; because they received not the love of the truth. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie : that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.”¹ And Esaias says, “ Let the wicked be cut off, that he behold not the glory of the Lord.”²

64. These things, then, being to come to pass, beloved, and the one week being divided into two parts, and the abomination of desolation being manifested then, and the two prophets and forerunners of the Lord having finished their course, and the whole world finally approaching the consummation, what remains but the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from heaven, for whom we have looked in hope ? who shall bring the conflagration and just judgment upon all who have refused to believe on Him. For the Lord says, “ And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads ; for your redemption draweth nigh.”³ “ And there shall not a hair of your head perish.”⁴ “ For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.”⁵ Now the fall⁶ took place in paradise ; for Adam fell there. And He says again,

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 1-11.

² Isa. xxvi. 10.

³ Luke xxi. 28.

⁴ Luke xxi. 18.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 27, 28.

⁶ The word *πτωξις*, used in the Greek as = carcase, is thus interpreted by Hippolytus as = fall, which is its literal sense.

"Then shall the Son of man send His angels, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds of heaven."¹ And David also, in announcing prophetically the judgment and coming of the Lord, says, "His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His circuit unto the end of the heaven: and there is no one hid from the heat thereof."² By the heat he means the conflagration. And Esaias speaks thus: "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chamber, (and) shut thy door: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation of the Lord be overpast."³ And Paul in like manner: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteousness."⁴

65. Moreover, concerning the resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel says, "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, (and some to shame and everlasting contempt)."⁵ Esaias says, "The dead men shall arise, and they that are in their tombs shall awake; for the dew from thee is healing to them."⁶ The Lord says, "Many in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."⁷ And the prophet says, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."⁸ And John says, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power."⁹ For the second death is the lake of fire that burneth. And again the Lord says, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun shineth in his glory."¹⁰ And to the saints He will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."¹¹ But what saith He to the wicked? "Depart from me, ye cursed, into

¹ Matt. xxiv. 31.² Ps. xix. 6.³ Isa. xxvi. 20.⁴ Rom. i. 17.⁵ Dan. xii. 2.⁶ Isa. xxvi. 19.⁷ John v. 25.⁸ Eph. v. 14. Epiphanius and others suppose that the words thus cited by Paul are taken from the apocryphal writings of Jeremiah; others that they are a free version of Isa. lx. 1.⁹ Rev. xx. 6.¹⁰ Matt. xiii. 43.¹¹ Matt. xxv. 34.

everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, which my Father hath prepared." And John says, "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire."¹ And in like manner also Esaias: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me. And their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh."²

66. Concerning the resurrection of the righteous, Paul also speaks thus in writing to the Thessalonians: "We would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive (and) remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive (and) remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord."³

67. These things, then, I have set shortly before thee, O Theophilus, drawing them (from Scripture itself), in order that, maintaining in faith what is written, and anticipating the things that are to be, thou mayest keep thyself void of offence both toward God and toward men, "looking for that blessed hope and appearing of our God and Saviour,"¹ when, having raised the saints among us, He will rejoice with them, glorifying the Father. To Him be the glory unto the endless ages of the ages. Amen.

¹ Rev. xxii. 15.

² Isa. lxvi. 24.


³ 1 Thess. iv. ~~12~~.

⁴ Tit. ii. 13.

EXPOSITORY TREATISE AGAINST THE JEWS.

BY

ST. HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR.

1. OW, then, incline thine ear to me, and hear my words, and give heed, thou Jew. Many a time dost thou boast thyself, in that thou didst condemn Jesus of Nazareth to death, and didst give Him vinegar and gall to drink; and thou dost vaunt thyself because of this. Come therefore, and let us consider together whether perchance thou dost not boast unrighteously, O Israel, (and) whether that small portion of vinegar and gall has not brought down this fearful threatening upon thee, (and) whether this is not the cause of thy present condition involved in these myriad troubles.

2. Let him then be introduced before us who speaketh by the Holy Spirit, and saith truth—David the son of Jesse. He, singing a certain strain with prophetic reference to the true Christ, celebrated our God by the Holy Spirit, (and) declared clearly all that befell Him by the hands of the Jews in His passion; in which (strain) the Christ who humbled Himself and took unto Himself the form of the servant Adam, calls upon God the Father in heaven as it were in our person, and speaks thus in the sixty-ninth Psalm: "Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I am sunk in the mire of the abyss," that is to say, in the corruption of Hades, on account of the transgression in paradise; "and there is no substance," that is, help. "Mine eyes failed while I hoped (or, from my hoping) upon my God; when will He come and save me?"¹

¹ Ps. lxix. 1 ff.

3. Then, in what next follows, Christ speaks, as it were, in His own person: "Then I restored that," says He, "which I took not away;" that is, on account of the sin of Adam I endured the death which was not mine by sinning. "For, O God, Thou knowest my foolishness; and my sins are not hid from Thee," that is, "for I did not sin," as He means it; and for this reason (it is added), "Let not them be ashamed who want to see" my resurrection on the third day, to wit the apostles. "Because for Thy sake," that is, for the sake of obeying Thee, "I have borne reproach," namely the cross, when "they covered my face with shame," that is to say, the Jews; when "I became a stranger unto my brethren after the flesh, and an alien unto my mother's children," meaning (by the mother) the synagogue. "For the zeal of Thine house, Father, hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproached Thee are fallen on me," and of them that sacrificed to idols. Wherefore "they that sit in the gate spoke against me," for they crucified me without the gate. "And they that drink sang against me," that is, (they who drink wine) at the feast of the passover. "But as for me, in my prayer unto Thee, O Lord, I said, Father, forgive them," namely the Gentiles, because it is the time for favour with Gentiles. "Let not then the hurricane (of temptations) overwhelm me, neither let the deep (that is, Hades) swallow me up: for Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (Hades); neither let the pit shut her mouth upon me,"¹ that is, the sepulchre. "By reason of mine enemies, deliver me," that the Jews may not boast, saying, Let us consume him.

4. Now Christ prayed all this œconomically² as man; being, however, true God. But, as I have already said, it was the "form of the servant"³ that spake and suffered these things. Wherefore He added, "My soul looked for reproach and trouble," that is, I suffered of my own will, (and) not by any compulsion. Yet "I waited for one to mourn with me, and there was none," for all my disciples forsook me and fled; and for a "comforter, and I found none."

5. Listen with understanding, O Jew, to what the Christ

¹ Ps. xvi. 10.

² οἰκονομικῶς.

³ Phil. ii. 7.

says: "They gave me gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." And these things He did indeed endure from you. Hear the Holy Ghost tell you also what return He made to you for that little portion of vinegar. For the prophet says, as in the person of God, "Let their table become a snare and retribution." Of what retribution does He speak? Manifestly, of the misery which has now got hold of thee.

6. And then hear what follows: "Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not." And surely ye have been darkened in the eyes of your soul with a darkness utter and everlasting. For now that the true light has arisen, ye wander as in the night, and stumble on places with no roads, and fall headlong, as having forsaken the way that saith, "I am the way."¹ Furthermore, hear this yet more serious word: "And their back do thou bend always;" that means, in order that they may be slaves to the nations, not four hundred and thirty years as in Egypt, nor seventy as in Babylon, but bend them to servitude, he says, "always." In fine, then, how dost thou indulge vain hopes, expecting to be delivered from the misery which holdeth thee? For that is somewhat strange. And not unjustly has he imprecated this blindness of eyes upon thee. But because thou didst cover the eyes of Christ, (and²) thus thou didst beat Him, for this reason, too, bend thou thy back for servitude always. And whereas thou didst pour out His blood in indignation, hear what thy recompense shall be: "Pour out Thine indignation upon them, and let Thy wrathful anger take hold of them;" and, "Let their habitation be desolate," to wit, their celebrated temple.

7. But why, O prophet, tell us, and for what reason was the temple made desolate? Was it on account of that ancient fabrication of the calf? Was it on account of the idolatry of the people? Was it for the blood of the prophets? Was it for the adultery and fornication of Israel? By no means, he says; for in all these transgressions they always found pardon open to them, and benignity; but it was because they

¹ John xiv. 6.

² The text is οὐτως, for which read perhaps ὅτε = when.

killed the Son of their Benefactor, for He is co-eternal with the Father. Whence He saith, "Father, let their temple be made desolate;¹ for they have persecuted Him whom Thou didst of Thine own will smite for the salvation of the world;" that is, they have persecuted me with a violent and unjust death, "and they have added to the pain of my wounds." In former time, as the Lover of man, I had pain on account of the straying of the Gentiles; but to this pain they have added another, by going also themselves astray. Wherefore "add iniquity to their iniquity, and tribulation to tribulation, and let them not enter into Thy righteousness," that is, into Thy kingdom; but "let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous," that is, with their holy fathers and patriarchs.

8. What sayest thou to this, O Jew? It is neither Matthew nor Paul that saith these things, but David, thine anointed, who awards and declares these terrible sentences on account of Christ. And like the great Job, addressing you who speak against the righteous and true, he says, "Thou didst barter the Christ like a slave, thou didst go to Him like a robber in the garden."

9. I produce now the prophecy of Solomon, which speaketh of Christ, and announces clearly and perspicuously things concerning the Jews; and those which not only are befalling them at the present time, but those, too, which shall befall them in the future age, on account of the contumacy and audacity which they exhibited toward the Prince of Life; for the prophet says, "The ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright," that is, about Christ, "Let us lie in wait for the righteous, because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings and words, and upbraideth us with our offending the law, and professeth to have knowledge of God; and he calleth himself the Child of God."² And then he says, "He is grievous to us even to behold; for his life is not like other men's, and his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits, and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness, and pro-

¹ Cf. Matt. xxiii. 38.

² Wisd. ii. 1, 12, 13.

nounceth the end of the just to be blessed.”¹ And again, listen to this, O Jew! None of the righteous or prophets called himself the Son of God. And therefore, as in the person of the Jews, Solomon speaks again of this righteous one, who is Christ, thus: “He was made to reprove our thoughts, and he maketh his boast that God is his Father. Let us see, then, if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him; for if the just man be the Son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us condemn him with a shameful death, for by his own saying he shall be respected.”²

10. And again David, in the Psalms, says with respect to the future age, “Then shall He” (namely Christ) “speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure.”³ And again Solomon says concerning Christ and the Jews, that “when the righteous shall stand in great boldness before the face of such as have afflicted Him, and made no account of His words, when they see it they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of His salvation; and they, repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit, shall say within themselves, This is He whom we had sometimes in derision and a proverb of reproach; we fools accounted His life madness, and His end to be without honour. How is He numbered among the children of God, and His lot is among the saints? Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of righteousness rose not on us. We wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction; we have gone through deserts where there lay no way: but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it. What hath our pride profited us? all those things are passed away like a shadow.”⁴

[*The conclusion is wanting.*]

¹ Wisd. ii. 15, 16.

² Wisd. ii. 14, 16, 17, 20.

³ Ps. ii. 5.


⁴ Wisd. v. 1-9.

FRAGMENT OF THE DISCOURSE OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS AGAINST THE GREEKS,

WHICH HAS THE TITLE,

“AGAINST PLATO, ON THE CAUSE OF THE UNIVERSE.”¹

[Gallandi, *Vet. Patr.* ii. 451.]

1. ND this is the passage regarding demons.² But now we must speak of Hades, in which the souls both of the righteous and the unrighteous are detained. Hades is a place in the created system, rude,³ a locality beneath the earth, in which the light of the world does not shine; and as the sun does not shine in this locality, there must necessarily be perpetual darkness there. This locality has been destined to be as it were a guard-house for souls, at which the angels are stationed as guards, distributing according to each one's deeds the temporary⁴ punishments for (different) characters. And in this locality there is a certain place⁵ set apart by itself, a lake of unquenchable fire, into which we suppose no one has ever yet been cast; for it is prepared against the day determined by God, in which one sentence of righteous judgment shall be justly applied to all. And the unrighteous, and those who believed

¹ Two fragments of this discourse are extant also in the *Parallela Damascenica Rupefucaldina*, pp. 755, 789.

² The reading in the text is *ὁ περὶ δαιμόνων τόπος*; others read *λόγος* for *τόπος* = thus far the discussion on demons.

³ *ἀκατασκεύαστος*.

⁴ Or it may be “seasonable,” *προσκαίρους*.

⁵ *τόπων*. There is another reading, *τόπων* = of the places.

not God, who have honoured as God the vain works of the hands of men, idols fashioned (by themselves), shall be sentenced to this endless punishment. But the righteous shall obtain the incorruptible and unfading kingdom, who indeed are at present detained in Hades,¹ but not in the same place with the unrighteous. For to this locality there is one descent, at the gate whereof we believe an archangel is stationed with a host. And when those who are conducted by the angels² appointed unto the souls have passed through this gate, they do not proceed on one and the same way; but the righteous, being conducted in the light toward the right, and being hymned by the angels stationed at the place, are brought to a locality full of light. And there the righteous from the beginning dwell, not ruled by necessity, but enjoying always the contemplation of the blessings which are in their view, and delighting themselves with the expectation of others ever new, and deeming those ever better than these. And that place brings no toils to them. There, there is neither fierce heat, nor cold, nor thorn;³ but the face of the fathers and the righteous is seen to be always smiling, as they wait for the rest and eternal revival in heaven which succeed this location. And we call it by the name *Abraham's bosom*. But the unrighteous are dragged toward the left by angels who are ministers of punishment, and they go of their own accord no longer, but are dragged by force as prisoners. And the angels appointed over them send them along,⁴ reproaching them and threatening them with an eye of terror, forcing them down into the lower parts. And when they are brought there, those appointed to that service drag them on to the confines of hell

¹ Hades, in the view of the ancients, was the general receptacle of souls after their separation from the body, where the good abode happily in a place of light (*Φωτεινῷ*), and the evil all in a place of darkness (*σκοτειωτέρῳ*). See Colomesii *Κεϊμήλια litteraria*, 28, and Suicer on *ἄδη*. Hence Abraham's bosom and paradise were placed in Hades. See Olym-piodorus on *Eccles.* iii. p. 264. The Macedonians, on the authority of Hugo Broughton, prayed in the Lord's words, "Our Father who art in Hades (*Πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ἄδῃ*) (Fabricius).

² Cf. *Constitut. Apostol.* viii. 41.

³ *τρίβολος*.

⁴ In the *Parallela* is inserted here the word *ἐπιγελῶντες*, *deriding* them.

(γέεννα). And those who are so near hear incessantly the agitation, and feel the hot smoke. And when that vision is so near, as they see the terrible and excessively red¹ spectacle of the fire, they shudder in horror at the expectation of the future judgment, (as if they were) already feeling the power of their punishment. And again, where they see the place of the fathers and the righteous,² they are also punished there. For a deep and vast abyss is set there in the midst, so that neither can any of the righteous in sympathy think to pass it, nor any of the unrighteous dare to cross it.

2. Thus far, then, on the subject of Hades, in which the souls of all are detained until the time which God has determined; and then He will accomplish a resurrection of all, not by transferring souls into other bodies,³ but by raising the bodies themselves. And if, O Greeks, ye refuse credit to this because ye see these (bodies) in their dissolution, learn not to be incredulous. For if ye believe that the soul is originated and is made immortal by God, according to the opinion of Plato,⁴ in time, ye ought not to refuse to believe that God is able also to raise the body, which is composed of the same elements, and make it immortal.⁵ To be able in one thing, and to be unable in another, is a word which cannot be said of God. We therefore believe that the body also is raised. For if it become corrupt, it is not at least destroyed. For the earth receiving its remains preserves them, and they, becoming as it were seed, and being wrapped up with the richer part of earth, spring up and bloom. And that which is sown is sown indeed bare grain; but at the command of God the Artificer it buds, and is raised arrayed and glorious, but not until it has first died, and been dissolved, and mingled with earth. Not, therefore, without good reason do we believe in

¹ According to the reading in *Parallela*, which inserts ξανθόν = red.

² The text reads καὶ οὗ, and *where*. But in *Parallela* it is καὶ οὗτοι = and these see, etc. In the same we find ὡς μήτε for καὶ τοὺς διαιούς.

³ μετεμψωμωτων, in opposition to the dogma of metempsychosis.

⁴ In the *Timæus*.

⁵ The first of the two fragments in the *Parallela* ends here.

the resurrection of the body. Moreover, if it is dissolved in its season on account of the primeval transgression, and is committed to the earth as to a furnace, to be moulded again anew, it is not raised the same thing as it is now, but pure and no longer corruptible. And to every body its own proper soul will be given again ; and the soul, being endued again with it, shall not be grieved, but shall rejoice together with it, abiding itself pure with it also pure. And as it now sojourns with it in the world righteously, and finds it in nothing now a traitor, it will receive it again (the body) with great joy. But the unrighteous will receive their bodies unchanged, and unransomed from suffering and disease, and unglorified, and still with all the ills in which they died. And whatever manner of persons they (were when they) lived without faith, as such they shall be faithfully judged.

3.¹ For all, the righteous and the unrighteous alike, shall be brought before God the Word. For the Father hath committed all judgment to Him ; and in fulfilment of the Father's counsel, He cometh as Judge whom we call Christ. For it is not Minos and Rhadamanthys that are to judge (the world), as ye fancy, O Greeks, but He whom God the Father hath glorified, of whom we have spoken elsewhere more in particular, for the profit of those who seek the truth. He, in administering the righteous judgment of the Father to all, assigns to each what is righteous according to his works. And being present at His judicial decision, all, both men and angels and demons, shall utter one voice, saying, " Righteous is Thy judgment." ² Of which voice the justification will be seen in the awarding to each that which is just ; since to those who have done well shall be assigned righteously eternal bliss, and to the lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment. And the fire which is unquenchable and without end awaits these latter, and a certain fiery worm which dieth not, and which does not waste the body, but continues bursting forth from the body with unending pain. No sleep will give them rest ; no night will soothe them ; no death will deliver

¹ The second fragment extant in the *Parallela* begins here.

² Ps. cxix. 137.

them from punishment; no voice of interceding friends will profit them. For neither are the righteous seen by them any longer, nor are they worthy of remembrance. But the righteous will remember only the righteous deeds by which they reached the heavenly kingdom, in which there is neither sleep, nor pain, nor corruption, nor care,¹ nor night, nor day measured by time; nor sun traversing in necessary course the circle of heaven, which marks the limits of seasons, or the points measured out for the life of man so easily read; nor moon waning or waxing, or inducing the changes of seasons, or moistening the earth; no burning sun, no changeful Bear, no Orion coming forth, no numerous wandering of stars, no painfully-trodden earth, no abode of paradise hard to find; no furious roaring of the sea, forbidding one to touch or traverse it; but this too will be readily passable for the righteous, although it lacks no water. There will be no heaven inaccessible to men, nor will the way of its ascent be one impossible to find; and there will be no earth unwrought, or toilsome for men, but one producing fruit spontaneously in beauty and order; nor will there be generation of wild beasts again, nor the bursting² substance of other creatures. Neither with man will there be generation again, but the number of the righteous remains indefectible with the righteous angels and spirits. Ye who believe these words, O men, will be partakers with the righteous, and will have part in these future blessings, which "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."³ To Him be the glory and the power, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ The second fragment in the *Parallela* ends here.

² ἐκβρασσόμενα.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 9.

AGAINST THE HERESY OF ONE NOETUS.

BY

ST. HIPPOLYTUS, ARCHBISHOP AND MARTYR.

[Gallandi, p. 454.]



SOME others are secretly introducing another doctrine, who have become disciples of one Noetus, who was a native of Smyrna,¹ (and) lived not very long ago.² This person was greatly puffed up and inflated with pride, being inspired by the conceit of a strange spirit. He alleged that Christ was the Father Himself, and that the Father Himself was born, and suffered, and died. Ye see what pride of heart and what a strange inflated spirit had insinuated themselves into him. From his other actions, then, the proof is already given us that he spoke not with a pure spirit; for he who blasphemes against the Holy Ghost is cast out from the holy inheritance. He alleged that he was himself Moses, and that Aaron was his brother.³

¹ That Noetus was a native of Smyrna is mentioned also by Theodoret, book iii. *Hæret. fab.* c. iii., and Damascenus, sec. lvii. (who is accustomed to follow Epiphanius); and yet in Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 57, we read that Noetus was an Asian of the city of Ephesus (Ἀσιανὸν τῆς Ἐφέσου πόλεως). (Fabricius.)

² Epiphanius says that Noetus made his heresy public about 130 years before his time (οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλείονων ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἑλάσσω); and as Epiphanius wrote in the year 375, that would make the date of Noetus about 245. He says also that Noetus died *soon after* (ἐναγχοῦς), along with his brother. (Fabricius.)

³ So also Epiphanius and Damascenus. But Philastrius, *Heresy* 53, puts Elijah for Aaron (hic etiam dicebat se Moysem esse, et fratrem suum Eliam prophetam).

When the blessed presbyters heard this, they summoned him before the church, and examined him. But he denied at first that he held such opinions. Afterwards, however, taking shelter among some, and having gathered round him some others¹ who had embraced the same error, he wished thereafter to uphold his dogma openly as correct. And the blessed presbyters called him again before them, and examined him. But he stood out against them, saying, "What evil, then, am I doing in glorifying Christ?" And the presbyters replied to him, "We too know in truth one God;² we know Christ; we know that the Son suffered even as He suffered, and died even as He died, and rose again on the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and cometh to judge the living and the dead. And these things which we have learned we allege." Then, after examining him, they expelled him from the church. And he was carried to such a pitch of pride, that he established a school.

2. Now they seek to exhibit the foundation for their dogma by citing the word in the law, "I am the God of your fathers: ye shall have no other gods beside me;"³ and again in another passage, "I am the first," He saith, "and the last; and beside me there is none other."⁴ Thus they say they prove that God is one. And then they answer in this manner: "If therefore I acknowledge Christ to be God, He is the Father Himself, if He is indeed God; and Christ suffered, being Himself God; and consequently the Father suffered, for He was the Father Himself." But the case stands not thus; for the Scriptures do not set forth the matter in this manner. But they make use also of other testimonies, and say, Thus it is written: "This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant (son), and to Israel His beloved. After-

¹ Epiphanius remarks that they were but ten in number.

² The following words are the words of the *Symbolum*, as it is extant in Irenæus, i. 10, etc., and iii. 4; and in Tertullian, *contra Praxeam*, ch. ii., and *De Præscript.* ch. xiii., and *De virginibus velandis*, ch. i.

³ Ex. iii. 6 and xx. 3.

⁴ Isa. xlv. 6.

ward did He show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men.”¹ You see, then, he says, that this is God, who is the only One, and who afterwards did show Himself, and conversed with men. And in another place he says, “Egypt hath laboured; and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, [and they shall be slaves to thee]; and they shall come after thee bound with manacles, and they shall fall down unto thee, because God is in thee; and they shall make supplication unto thee: and there is no God beside thee. For Thou art God, and we knew not; God of Israel, the Saviour.”² Do you see, he says, how the Scriptures proclaim one God? And as this is clearly exhibited, and these passages are testimonies to it, I am under necessity, he says, since one is acknowledged, to make this One the subject of suffering. For Christ was God, and suffered on account of us, being Himself the Father, that He might be able also to save us. And we cannot express ourselves otherwise, he says; for the apostle also acknowledges one God, when he says, “Whose are the fathers, (and) of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.”³

3. In this way, then, they choose to set forth these things, and they make use only of one class of passages;⁴ just in the same one-sided manner that Theodotus employed when he sought to prove that Christ was a mere man. But neither has the one party nor the other understood the matter rightly, as the Scriptures themselves confute their senselessness, and

¹ Baruch iii. 35-38.

² Isa. xlv. 14.

³ Rom. ix. 5.

⁴ καὶ αὐτοῖς μονοκῶλα χρώμενοι, etc. The word μονοκῶλα appears to be used adverbially, instead of μονοκῶλως and μονοτύπως, which are the terms employed by Epiphanius (p. 481). The meaning is, that the Noetians, in explaining the words of Scripture concerning Christ, looked only to one side of the question—namely, to the divine nature; just as Theodotus, on his part going to the opposite extreme, kept by the human nature exclusively, and held that Christ was a mere man. Besides others, the presbyter Timotheus, in *Cotelerii Monument.* vol. iii. p. 389, mentions Theodotus in these terms: “They say that this Theodotus was the leader and father of the heresy of the Samosatans, having first alleged that Christ was a mere man.”

attest the truth. See, brethren, what a rash and audacious dogma they have introduced, when they say without shame, the Father is Himself Christ, Himself the Son, Himself was born, Himself suffered, Himself raised Himself. But it is not so. The Scriptures speak what is right; but Noetus is of a different mind from them. Yet, though Noetus does not understand the truth, the Scriptures are not at once to be repudiated. For who will not say that there is one God? Yet he will not on that account deny the œconomy (*i.e.* the number and disposition of persons in the Trinity). The proper way, therefore, to deal with the question is first of all to refute the interpretation put upon these passages by these men, and then to explain their real meaning. For it is right, in the first place, to expound the truth that the Father is one God, “of whom is every family,”¹ “by whom are all things, of whom are all things, and we in Him.”²

4. Let us, as I said, see how he is confuted, and then let us set forth the truth. Now he quotes the words, “Egypt has laboured, and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans,” and so forth on to the words, “For Thou art the God of Israel, the Saviour.” And these words he cites without understanding what precedes them. For whenever they wish to attempt anything underhand, they mutilate the Scriptures. But let him quote the passage as a whole, and he will discover the reason kept in view in writing it. For we have the beginning of the section a little above; and we ought, of course, to commence there in showing to whom and about whom the passage speaks. For above, the beginning of the section stands thus: “Ask me concerning my sons and my daughters, and concerning the work of my hands command ye me. I have made the earth, and man upon it: I with my hand have stablished the heaven; I have commanded all the stars. I have raised him up, and all his ways are straight. He shall build my city, and he shall turn back the captivity; not for price nor reward, said the Lord of hosts. Thus said the Lord of hosts, Egypt hath laboured, and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over

¹ Eph. iii. 15.

² 1 Cor. viii. 6.

unto thee, and they shall be slaves to thee: and they shall come after thee bound with manacles, and they shall fall down unto thee; and they shall make supplication unto thee, because God is in thee; and there is no God beside thee. For Thou art God, and we knew not; the God of Israel, the Saviour.”¹ “In thee, therefore,” says he, “God is.” But in whom is God except in Christ Jesus, the Father’s Word, and the mystery of the œconomy? And again, exhibiting the truth regarding Him, he points to the fact of His being in the flesh when He says, “I have raised Him up in righteousness, and all His ways are straight.” For what is this? Of whom does the Father thus testify? It is of the Son that the Father says, “I have raised Him up in righteousness.” And that the Father did raise up His Son in righteousness, the Apostle Paul bears witness, saying, “But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you.”² Behold, the word spoken by the prophet is thus made good, “I have raised Him up in righteousness.” And in saying, “God is in thee,” he referred to the mystery of the œconomy, because when the Word was made incarnate and became man, the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father, while the Son was living among men. This, therefore, was signified, brethren, that in reality the mystery of the œconomy by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin was this Word, constituting yet one Son to God.³ And it is not simply that I say this, but He Himself attests it who came down from heaven; for He speaketh thus: “No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven.”⁴ What then can he seek beside what is thus written? Will he say, forsooth,

¹ Isa. xlv. 11-15.

² Rom. viii. 11.

³ Turrian has the following note: “The Word of God constituted (operatum est) one Son to God; *i.e.* the Word of God effected, that He who was the one Son of God was also one Son of man, because as His hypostasis He assumed the flesh. For thus was the Word made flesh.”

⁴ John iii. 13.

that flesh was in heaven? Yet there is the flesh which was presented by the Father's Word as an offering,—the flesh that came by the Spirit and the Virgin, (and was) demonstrated to be the perfect Son of God. It is evident, therefore, that He offered Himself to the Father. And before this there was no flesh in heaven. Who, then, was in heaven but the Word unincarnate, who was despatched to show that He was upon earth and was also in heaven? For He was Word, He was Spirit, He was Power. The same took to Himself the name common and current among men, and was called from the beginning the Son of man on account of what He was to be, although He was not yet man, as Daniel testifies when he says, "I saw, and behold one like the Son of man came on the clouds of heaven."¹ Rightly, then, did he say that He who was in heaven was called from the beginning by this name, the Word of God, as being that from the beginning.

5. But what is meant, says he, in the other passage: "This is God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him?"² That said he rightly. For in comparison of the Father who shall be accounted of? But he says: "This is our God; there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved." He saith well. For who is Jacob His servant, Israel His beloved, but He of whom He crieth, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him?"³ Having received, then, all knowledge from the Father, the perfect Israel, the true Jacob, afterward did show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men. And who, again, is meant by Israel⁴ but *a man who sees God*? and

¹ Dan. vii. 13.

² Baruch iii. 36, etc.

³ Matt. xvii. 5.

⁴ The word *Israel* is explained by Philo, *De præmiis et pœnis*, p. 710, and elsewhere, as meaning *seeing God*. ὁρῶν Θεόν, i.e. אִישׁ רֹאֵה אֵל. So also in the *Constitutiones Apostol.* vii. 37, viii. 15; Eusebius, *Præparat.* xi. 6, p. 519, and in many others. To the same class may be referred those who make Israel = ὁρατικός ἀνὴρ καὶ θεωρητικός, *a man apt to see and speculate*, as Eusebius, *Præparat.* p. 310, or = νοῦς ὁρῶν Θεόν, as

there is no one who sees God except the Son alone, the perfect man who alone declares the will of the Father. For John also says, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared¹ Him."² And again: "He who came down from heaven testifieth what He hath heard and seen."³ This, then, is He to whom the Father hath given all knowledge, who did show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men.

6. Let us look next at the apostle's word: "Whose are the fathers, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever."⁴ This word declares the mystery of the truth rightly and clearly. He who is over all is God; for thus He speaks boldly, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father."⁵ He who is over all, God blessed, has been born; and having been made man, He is (yet) God for ever. For to this effect John also has said, "Which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."⁶ And well has he named Christ the Almighty. For in this he has said only what Christ testifies of Himself. For Christ gave this testimony, and said, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father;"⁷ and Christ rules all things, and has been appointed Almighty by the Father. And in like manner Paul also, in setting forth the truth that all things are delivered unto Him, said, "Christ the first-fruits; afterwards they that are Christ's at His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For

Optatus in the end of the second book; Didymus in Jerome, and Jerome himself in various passages; Maximus, i. p. 284; Olympiodorus on Ecclesiastes, ch. i.; Leontius, *De Sectis*, p. 392; Theophanes, *Ceram. homil.* iv. p. 22, etc. Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 354, adduces another etymology, ἀνθρώπος νικῶν δύναιμι.

¹ Hippolytus reads διηγήσατο for ἐξηγήσατο.

² John i. 18.

³ John iii. 11, 13.

⁴ Rom. ix. 5.

⁵ Matt. xi. 27.

⁶ Apoc. i. 8.

⁷ Matt. xi. 27.

all things are put under Him. But when He saith, All things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him. Then shall He also Himself be subject to Him who put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.”¹ If, therefore, all things are put under Him with the exception of Him who put them under Him, He is Lord of all, and the Father is Lord of Him, that in all there might be manifested one God, to whom all things are made subject together with Christ, to whom the Father hath made all things subject, with the exception of Himself. And this, indeed, is said by Christ Himself, as when in the Gospel He confessed Him to be His Father and His God. For He speaks thus: “I go to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.”² If, then, Noetus ventures to say that He is the Father Himself, to what father will he say Christ goes away according to the word of the Gospel? But if he will have us abandon the Gospel and give credence to his senselessness, he expends his labour in vain; for “we ought to obey God rather than men.”³

✓ 7. If, again, he allege His own word when He said, “I and the Father are one,”⁴ let him attend to the fact, and understand that He did not say, “I and the Father *am* one, but *are* one.”⁵ For the word *are* (ἐσμεν) is not said of one person, but it refers to *two persons*, and one power.⁶ He has Himself made this clear, when He spake to His Father concerning the disciples, “The glory which Thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; that the world may know that Thou hast sent me.”⁷ What have the Noetians to say to these things? Are all one body in respect of substance, or is it that we become one in the power and disposition of unity of mind?⁸ In the same manner the Son, who was sent and was not known of those who are in the world, confessed that He was in the

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 23-28.

² John xx. 17.

³ Acts v. 29, iv. 19.

⁴ John x. 30.

⁵ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν εἰμι—ἓν ἐσμεν.

⁶ δύναμιν.

⁷ John xvii. 22, 23.

⁸ ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῆς ὁμοφρονίας ἐν γινόμεθα.

Father in power and disposition. For the Son is the one mind of the Father. We who have the Father's mind believe so (in Him); but they who have it not have denied the Son. And if, again, they choose to allege the fact that Philip inquired about the Father, saying, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," to whom the Lord made answer in these terms: "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?"¹ and if they choose to maintain that their dogma is ratified by this passage, as if He owned Himself to be the Father, let them know that it is decidedly against them, and that they are confuted by this very word. For though Christ had spoken of Himself, and showed Himself among all as the Son, they had not yet recognised Him to be such, neither had they been able to apprehend or contemplate His real power. And Philip, not having been able to receive this, as far as it was possible to see it, requested to behold the Father. To whom then the Lord said, "Philip, have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." By which He means, If thou hast seen me, thou mayest know the Father through me. For through the image, which is like (the original), the Father is made readily known. But if thou hast not known the image, which is the Son, how dost thou seek to see the Father? And that this is the case is made clear by the rest of the chapter, which signifies that the Son who "has been set forth"² was sent from the Father,³ and goeth to the Father."⁴

8. Many other passages, or rather all of them, attest the truth. A man, therefore, even though he will it not, is compelled to acknowledge God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who, being God, became man, to whom also the Father made all things subject, Himself excepted, and the Holy Spirit; and that these, therefore, are three. But if he desires to learn how it is shown still that

¹ John xiv. 8, 9.

² Rom. iii. 25.

³ John v. 30, vi. 29, viii. 16, 18, etc.

⁴ John xiii. 1, xiv. 12.

there is one God, let him know that His power (δύναμις) is one. As far as regards the power, therefore, God is one. But as far as regards the œconomy there is a threefold manifestation, as shall be proved afterwards when we give account of the true doctrine. In these things, however, which are thus set forth by us, we are at one. For there is one God in whom we must believe, but unoriginated, impassible, immortal, doing all things as He wills, in the way He wills, and when He wills. What, then, will this Noetus, who knows¹ nothing of the truth, dare to say to these things? And now, as Noetus has been confuted, let us turn to the exhibition of the truth itself, that we may establish the truth, against which all these mighty heresies² have arisen without being able to state anything to the purpose.

9. There is, brethren, one God, the knowledge of whom we gain from the holy Scriptures, and from no other source. For just as a man, if he wishes to be skilled in the wisdom of this world, will find himself unable to get at it in any other way than by mastering the dogmas of philosophers, so all of us who wish to practise piety will be unable to learn its practice from any other quarter than the oracles of God. Whatever things, then, the holy Scriptures declare, at these let us look; and whatsoever things they teach, these let us learn; and as the Father wills our belief to be, let us believe; and as He wills the Son to be glorified, let us glorify Him; and as He wills the Holy Spirit to be bestowed, let us receive Him. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own mind, nor yet as using violently those things which are given by God, but even as He has chosen to teach them by the holy Scriptures, so let us discern them.

10. God, subsisting alone, and having nothing contemporaneous with Himself, determined to create the world. And conceiving the world in mind, and willing and uttering the word, He made it; and straightway it appeared, formed as it

¹ There is perhaps a play on the words here—Νόητος μὴ νοῶν.

² i.e. the other thirty-one heresies, which Hippolytus had already attacked. From these words it is apparent also that this treatise was the closing portion of a book against the heresies (Fabricius).

had pleased Him. For us, then, it is sufficient simply to know that there was nothing contemporaneous with God. Beside Him there was nothing; but¹ He, while existing alone, yet existed in plurality.² For He was neither without reason, nor wisdom, nor power, nor counsel.³ And all things were in Him, and He was the All. When He willed, and as He willed,⁴ He manifested His word in the times determined by Him, and by Him He made all things. When He wills, He does; and when He thinks, He executes; and when He speaks, He manifests; when He fashions, He contrives in wisdom. For all things that are made He forms by reason and wisdom—creating them in reason, and arranging them in wisdom. He made them, then, as He pleased, for He was God. And as the Author, and fellow-Counsellor, and Framers⁵ of the things that are being made, He begat⁶ the Word; and as He bears this Word in Himself, and that, too, as (yet) invisible to the world which is created, He makes Him visible; (and) uttering the voice first, and begetting Him as Light of Light,⁷ He set Him forth to the world as its Lord, (and) His own mind (*νοῦν*); and whereas He was visible formerly to Himself alone, and invisible to the world which is made, He makes Him visible in order that the world

¹ See, on this passage, Bull's *Defens. fid. Nic.* sec. iii. cap. viii. § 2, p. 219.

² πολλὸς ἦν.

³ ἄλογος, ἄσοφος, ἄδύνατος, ἀβούλευτος.

⁴ On these words see Bossuet's explanation and defence, *Avertiss.* vi. § 68, *sur les lettres de M. Jurieu*.

⁵ ἀρχηγόν, καὶ σύμβουλον, καὶ ἐργάτην.

⁶ The "begetting" of which Hippolytus speaks here is not the generation, properly so called, but that manifestation and bringing forth of the Word co-existing from eternity with the Father, which referred to the creation of the world. So at least Bull and Bossuet, as cited above; also Maranus, *De Divinit. J. C.*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. § 3, p. 458.

⁷ ὥς ἐκ φωτός. This phrase, adopted by the Nicene fathers, occurs before their time not only here, but also in Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Athenagoras, as is noticed by Grabe, *ad Irenæum*, lib. ii. c. xxiii. Methodius also, in his *Homily on Simeon and Anna*, p. 152, has the expression, σὺ εἶ Φῶς ἀληθινὸν ἐκ φωτός ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθινός ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. Athanasius himself also uses the phrase *λύχρον ἐκ λύχρου*, vol. i. p. 881, ed. Lips.

might see Him in His manifestation, and be capable of being saved.

11. And thus there appeared another beside Himself. But when I say *another*,¹ I do not mean that there are two Gods, but that it is only as light of light, or as water from a fountain, or as a ray from the sun. For there is but one power, which is from the All (ἐκ τοῦ παντός); and the Father is the All, from whom cometh this Power, the Word. And this is the mind (or reason) which came forth into the world, and was manifested as the Son (παῖς) of God. All things, then, are by Him, and He alone is of the Father. Who then adduces a multitude of gods brought in, time after time? For all are shut up, however unwillingly, to admit this fact, that the All runs up into one. If, then, all things run up into one, even according to Valentinus, and Marcion, and Cerinthus, and all their fooleries, they are also reduced, however unwillingly, to this position, that they must acknowledge that the One is the cause of all things. Thus, then, these too, though they wish it not, fall in with the truth, and admit that one God made all things according to His good pleasure. And He gave the law and the prophets; and in giving them, He made them speak by the Holy Ghost, in order that, being gifted with the inspiration of the Father's power, they might declare the Father's counsel and will.

12. Acting then in these (prophets), the Word spoke of Himself. For already He became His own herald, and showed that the Word would be manifested among men. And for this reason He cried thus: "I am made manifest to them that sought me not; I am found of them that asked not for me."² And who is He that is made manifest but the Word of the Father?—whom the Father sent, and in whom He showed to men the power proceeding from Him. Thus, then, was the Word made manifest, even as the blessed John

¹ Justin Martyr also says that the Son is ἑτέρον τι, *something other*, from the Father; and Tertullian affirms, *Filium et Patrem esse aliud ab alio*, with the same intent as Hippolytus here, viz. to express the distinction of persons.

² Isa. lxx. 1.

says. For he sums up the things that were said by the prophets, and shows that this is the Word, by whom all things were made. For he speaks to this effect: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made."¹ And beneath He says, "The world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not; He came unto His own, and His own received Him not."² If, then, said he, the world was made by Him, according to the word of the prophet, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made,"³ then this is the Word that was also made manifest. We accordingly see the Word incarnate, and we know the Father by Him, and we believe in the Son, (and) we worship the Holy Spirit. Let us then look at the testimony of Scripture with respect to the announcement of the future manifestation of the Word.

13. Now Jeremiah says, "Who hath stood in the counsel⁴ of the Lord, and hath perceived His Word?"⁵ But the Word of God alone is visible, while the word of man is audible. When he speaks of seeing the Word, I must believe that this visible (Word) has been sent. And there was none other (sent) but the Word. And that He was sent Peter testifies, when he says to the centurion Cornelius: "God sent His Word unto the children of Israel by the preaching of Jesus Christ. This is the God who is Lord of all."⁶ If, then, the Word is sent by Jesus Christ, the will⁷ of the Father is Jesus Christ.

¹ John i. 1-3. Hippolytus evidently puts the full stop at the οὐδὲ ἔν, attaching the εἶ γέγονεν to the following. So also Irenæus, Clemens Alex., Origen, Theophilus of Antioch, and Eusebius, in several places; so, too, of the Latin fathers—Tertullian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Augustine; and long after these, Honorius Augustodunensis, in his *De imagine Mundi*. This punctuation was also adopted by the heretics Valentinus, Heracleon, Theodotus, and the Macedonians and Eunomians; and hence it is rejected by Epiphanius, ii. p. 80, and Chrysostom. (Fabricius.)

² John i. 10, 11.

³ Ps. xxxiii. 6.

⁴ ὑποστήματα, foundation. Victor reads ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει, in the substance, nature; Symmachus has ἐν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, in the fellowship.

⁵ Jer. xxiii. 18.

⁶ Acts x. 36.

⁷ τὸ θέλημα. Many of the patristic theologians called the Son the

14. These things then, brethren, are declared by the Scriptures. And the blessed John, in the testimony of his Gospel, gives us an account of this œconomy (disposition), and acknowledges this Word as God, when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." If, then, the Word was with God, and was also God, what follows? Would one say that he speaks of two Gods?¹ I shall not indeed speak of two Gods, but of one; of two Persons however, and of a third œconomy (disposition), viz. the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Father indeed is One, but there are two Persons, because there is also the Son; and then there is the third, the Holy Spirit. The Father decrees, the Word executes, and the Son is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. The œconomy² of harmony is led back to one God; for God is One. It is the Father who commands,³ and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Spirit who gives understanding (συνέτιζον): the Father who is *above all*,⁴ and the Son who is

Father's βούλησις or θέλημα. See the passages in Petavius, *De S. S. Trinitate*, lib. vi. c. 8, § 21, and vii. 12, § 12.

1 From this passage it is clear that Hippolytus taught the doctrine of one God alone and three Persons. A little before, in the eighth chapter, he said that there is one God, according to substance or divine essence, which one substance is in three Persons; and that, according to disposition or œconomy, three are three Persons manifested. By the term *œconomy*, therefore, he understands, with Tertullian, *adversus Praxeam*, ch. iii., the number and disposition of the Trinity (*numerus et dispositionem Trinitatis*). Here he also calls the grace of the Holy Spirit the *third œconomy*, but in the same way as Tertullian, who calls the Holy Spirit the *third grade* (*tertium gradum*). For the terms *gradus*, *forma*, *species*, *dispositio*, and *œconomia* mean the same in Tertullian. (Maranus.)

2 αἰκονομία συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, perhaps = the œconomy as being one of harmony, leads to one God.

3 This mode of speaking of the Father's *commanding* and the Son's *obeying*, was used without any offence, not only by Irenæus, Hippolytus, Origen, and others before the Council of Nicæa, but also after that council by the keenest opponents of the Arian heresy—Athanasius, Basil, Marius Victorinus, Hilary, Prosper, and others. See Petavius, *De Trin.* i. 7, § 7; and Bull, *Defens. fid. Nic.* pp. 138, 164, 167, 170. (Fabricius.)

4 Referring probably to Eph. iv. 6.

through all, and the Holy Spirit who is in all. And we cannot otherwise think of one God,¹ but by believing in truth in Father and Son and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified (or gloried in) the Father, but gave Him not thanks, for they they did not recognise the Son. The disciples recognised the Son, but not in the Holy Ghost; wherefore they also denied Him.² The Father's Word, therefore, knowing the œconomy (disposition) and the will of the Father, to wit, that the Father seeks to be worshipped in none other way than this, gave this charge to the disciples after He rose from the dead: "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."³ And by this He showed, that whosoever omitted any one of these, failed in glorifying God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity (*Τριάδος*) that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son did, the Spirit manifested. The whole Scriptures, then, proclaim this truth.

15. But some one will say to me, You adduce a thing strange to me, when you call the Son the Word. For John indeed speaks of the Word, but it is by a figure of speech. [Nay, it is by no figure of speech.]⁴ For while thus presenting this Word that was from the beginning, and has now been sent forth, he said below in the Apocalypse, "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and He that sat upon him (was) Faithful and True; and in righteousness He doth judge and make war. And His eyes (were) as flame of fire, and on His head were many crowns; and He had a name written that no man knew but He Himself. And He (was) clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and His name is called

¹ The Christian doctrine, Maranus remarks, could not be set forth more accurately; for he contends not only that the number of Persons in no manner detracts from the unity of God, but that the unity of God itself can neither consist nor be adored without this number of Persons.

² This is said probably with reference to Peter's denial.

³ Matt. xxviii. 19.

⁴ ἀλλ' ἄλλως ἀλληγορεῖ. The words in brackets are given only in the Latin. They may have dropped from the Greek text. At any rate, some such addition seems necessary for the sense.

the Word of God.”¹ See then, brethren, how the vesture sprinkled with blood denoted in symbol the flesh, through which the impassible Word of God came under suffering, as also the prophets testify to me. For thus speaks the blessed Micah : “The house of Jacob provoked the Spirit of the Lord to anger. These are their pursuits. Are not His words good with them, and do they walk rightly? And they have risen up in enmity against His countenance of peace, and they have stripped off His glory.”² That means His suffering in the flesh. And in like manner also the blessed Paul says, “For what the law could not do, in that it was weak, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be shown in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.”³ What Son of His own, then, did God send through the flesh but the Word,⁴ whom He addressed as Son because He was to become such (or be begotten) in the future? And He takes the common name for tender affection among men in being called the Son. For neither was the Word, prior to incarnation and when by Himself,⁵ yet perfect Son, although He was perfect Word, only-begotten. Nor could the flesh subsist by itself apart from the Word, because it has its subsistence (τὴν σύστασιν) in the Word.⁶ Thus, then, one perfect Son of God was manifested.

¹ Apoc. xix. 11-13.

² Mic. ii. 7, 8. δόξαν: In the present text of the Septuagint it is δοράν, skin.

³ Hippolytus omits the words διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς and καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, and reads φανερωθῆ for πληρωθῆ.

⁴ ὁ υἱὸν προσηγόρευε διὰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.

⁵ Hippolytus thus gives more definite expression to this temporality of the Sonship, as Dorner remarks, than even Tertullian. See Dorner's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (T. & T. Clark), Div. i. vol. ii. p. 88, etc.

⁶ “Σύστασις,” says Dorner, “be it observed, is not yet equivalent to personality. The sense is, it had its subsistence in the Logos; He was the connective and vehicular force. This is thoroughly unobjectionable. He does not thus necessarily pronounce the humani Christ impersonal; although in view of what has preceded, and what remains to be adduced, there can be no doubt that Hippolytus would have defended

16. And these indeed are testimonies bearing on the incarnation of the Word; and there are also very many others. But let us also look at the subject in hand,—namely, the question, brethren, that in reality the Father's Power, which is the Word, came down from heaven, and not the Father Himself. For thus He speaks: "I came forth from the Father, and am come."¹ Now what subject is meant in this sentence, "I came forth from the Father,"² but just the Word? And what is it that is begotten of Him, but just the Spirit,³ that is to say, the Word? But you will say to me, How is He begotten? In your own case you can give no explanation of the way in which you were begotten, although you see every day the cause according to man; neither can you tell with accuracy the œconomy in His case (*τὴν περὶ τοῦτου οἰκονομίαν*). For you have it not in your power to acquaint yourself with the practised and indescribable art⁴ (method) of the Maker, but only to see, and understand, and believe that man is God's work. Moreover, you are asking an account of the generation of the Word, whom God the Father in His good pleasure begat as He willed. Is it not enough for you to learn that God made the world, but do you also venture to ask whence He made it? Is it not enough for you to learn that the Son of God has been manifested to you for salvation if you believe, but do you also inquire curiously how He was begotten after the Spirit? No more than two,⁵ in sooth, have been put in trust to give the account of His generation after the flesh; and are you then so bold as to seek the account (of His generation) after the Spirit, which the Father keeps with Himself, intending to reveal it then to the holy ones and

the impersonality, had the question been agitated at the period at which he lived." See Dorner, as above, i. 95.

¹ John xvi. 28.

² Reading ἐξῆλθον. The Latin interpreter seems to read ἐξελθόν = what is this that came forth.

³ πνεῦμα. The divine in Christ is thus designated in the Ante-Nicene fathers generally. See Grotius on Mark ii. 8; and for a full history of the term in the Fathers. Dorner's *Person of Christ*, i. p. 390, etc. (Clark).

⁴ τὴν τοῦ δα. η. γ. τέχνην. ὁσαυτος ἐμπειρον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητου τέχνην.

⁵ i.e. Matthew and Luke in their Gospels.

those worthy of seeing His face? Rest satisfied with the word spoken by Christ, viz., "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit,"¹ just as, speaking by the prophet of the generation of the Word, He shows the fact that He is begotten, but reserves the question of the manner and means, to reveal it only in the time determined by Himself. For He speaks thus: "From the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten Thee."²

17. These testimonies are sufficient for the believing who study truth, and the unbelieving credit no testimony. For the Holy Spirit, indeed, in the person of the apostles, has testified to this, saying, "And who has believed our report?"³ Therefore let us not prove ourselves unbelieving, lest the word spoken be fulfilled in us. Let us believe then, dear (*μακάριοι*) brethren, according to the tradition of the apostles that God the Word came down from heaven, (and entered) into the holy Virgin Mary, in order that, taking the flesh from her, and assuming also a human, by which I mean a rational soul, and becoming thus all that man is with the exception of sin, He might save fallen man, and confer immortality on men who believe on His name. In all, therefore, the word of truth is demonstrated to us, to wit, that the Father is One, whose word is present (with Him), by whom He made all things; whom also, as we have said above, the Father sent forth in later times for the salvation of men. This (Word) was preached by the law and the prophets as destined to come into the world. And even as He was preached then, in the same manner also did He come and manifest Himself, being by the Virgin and the Holy Spirit made a new man; for in that He had the heavenly (nature) of the Father, as the Word and the earthly (nature), as taking to Himself the flesh from the old Adam by the medium of the Virgin, He now, coming forth into the world, was manifested as God in a body, coming forth too as a perfect man. For it was not in mere appearance or by conversion (*κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπήν*), but in truth, that He became man.

18. Thus then, too, though demonstrated as God, He does

¹ John iii. 6.

² Ps. cx. 3.

³ Isa. liii. 1.

not refuse the conditions proper to Him as man,¹ since He hungers and toils and thirsts in weariness, and flees in fear, and prays in trouble. And He who as God has a sleepless nature, slumbers on a pillow. And He who for this end came into the world, begs off from the cup of suffering. And in an agony He sweats blood, and is strengthened by an angel, who Himself strengthens those who believe on Him, and taught men to despise death by His work (or, in deed, ἐργῶ). And He who knew what manner of man Judas was, is betrayed by Judas. And He, who formerly was honoured by him as God, is contemned by Caiaphas.² And He is set at nought by Herod, who is Himself to judge the whole earth. And He is scourged by Pilate, who took upon Himself our infirmities. And by the soldiers He is mocked, at whose behest stand thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels and archangels. And He who fixed the heavens like a vault is fastened to the cross by the Jews. And He who is inseparable from the Father cries to the Father, and commends to Him His spirit; and bowing His head, He gives up the ghost, who said, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again;"³ and because He was not overmastered by death, as being Himself Life, He said this: "I lay it down of myself."³ And He who gives life bountifully to all, has His side pierced with a spear. And He who raises the dead is wrapped in linen and laid in a sepulchre, and on the third day He is raised again by the Father, though Himself the Resurrection and the Life. For all these things has He finished for us, who for our sakes was made as we are. For "Himself hath borne our infirmities, and carried our diseases; and for our sakes He was afflicted,"⁴ as Isaiah the prophet has said. This is He who was hymned by the angels, and seen by the shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and witnessed to by Anna. This is

¹ The following passage agrees almost word for word with what is cited as from the *Memoria hæresium* of Hippolytus by Gelasius, in the *De duabus naturis Christi*, vol. viii. *Bibl. Patr.* edit. Lugd. p. 704.

² ἱερατευόμενος, referring to John xi. 51, 52.

³ John x. 18.

⁴ Isa. liii. 4.

He who was inquired after by the wise men, and indicated by the star; He who was engaged in His Father's house, and pointed to by John, and witnessed to by the Father from above in the voice, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye Him."¹ He is crowned victor against the devil (*στεφανοῦται κατὰ διαβόλου*²). This is Jesus of Nazareth, who was invited to the marriage-feast in Cana, and turned the water into wine, and rebuked the sea when agitated by the violence of the winds, and walked on the deep as on dry land, and caused the man blind from birth to see, and raised Lazarus to life after he had been dead four days, and did many mighty works, and forgave sins, and conferred power on the disciples, and had blood and water flowing from His sacred side when pierced with the spear. For His sake the sun is darkened, the day has no light, the rocks are shattered, the veil is rent, the foundations of the earth are shaken, the graves are opened, and the dead are raised, and the rulers are ashamed when they see the Director of the universe upon the cross closing His eye and giving up the ghost. Creation saw, and was troubled; and, unable to bear the sight of His exceeding glory, shrouded itself in darkness. This (is He who) breathes upon the disciples, and gives them the Spirit, and comes in among them when the doors are shut, and is taken up by a cloud into the heavens while the disciples gaze at Him, and is set down on the right hand of the Father, and comes again as the Judge of the living and the dead. This is the God who for our sakes became man, to whom also the Father hath put all things in subjection. To Him be the glory and the power, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the holy church both now and ever, and even for evermore. Amen.

¹ Matt. xvii. 5.

² Matt. xxvii. 29.

AGAINST BERON AND HELIX.

BY

HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS, AND MARTYR.



Fragments of a Discourse, alphabetically divided,¹ on the Divine Nature² and the Incarnation, against the heretics Beron and Helix,³ the beginning of which was in these words, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, with voice never silent the seraphim exclaim and glorify God.”

FRAGMENT I.

BY the omnipotent will of God all things are made, and the things that are made are also preserved, being maintained according to their several principles in perfect harmony by Him who is in His nature the omnipotent God and maker of all things,⁴ His divine will remaining unalterable by which He has made and moves all things, sustained as they severally are by their own natural laws.⁵ For the infinite cannot in any manner or by any account be susceptible of movement, inasmuch as it has nothing towards which and nothing around which it shall be

¹ κατὰ στοιχεῖον. The Latin title in the version of Anastasius renders it “ex sermone qui est per elementum.”

² περὶ θεολογίας.

³ For “Ἡλικος the *Codex Regius et Colbertinus* of Nicephorus prefers “Ἡλικιάνος. Fabricius conjectures that we should read ἡλικιωτῶ αἵρετικῶν, so that the title would be, Against Beron and his fellow-heretics.

⁴ αὐτῷ τῷ . . . Θεῷ.

⁵ τοῖς ἑκάστα φυσικοῖς διεξαγόμενα νόμοις. Anastasius makes it *naturalibus producta legibus*; Capperonnier, *suis quæque legibus temperata vel ordinata*.

moved. For in the case of that which is in its nature infinite, and so incapable of being moved, movement would be conversion.¹ Wherefore also the Word of God being made truly man in our manner, yet without sin, and acting and enduring in man's way such sinless things as are proper to our nature, and assuming the circumscription of the flesh of our nature on our behalf, sustained no conversion in that aspect in which He is one with the Father, being made in no respect one with the flesh through the exinanition.² But as He was without flesh,³ He remained without any circumscription. And through the flesh He wrought divinely (*θεικῶς*) those things which are proper to divinity, showing Himself to have both those natures in both of which He wrought, I mean the divine and the human, according to that veritable and real and natural subsistence,⁴ (showing Himself thus) as both being in reality and as being understood to be at one and the same time infinite God and finite man, having the nature (*οὐσίαν*) of each in perfection, with the same activity (*ἐνεργείας*), that is to say, the same natural properties (*φυσικῆς ιδιότητος*); whence we know that their distinction abides always according to the nature of each, and without conversion. But it is not (*i.e.* the distinction between deity and humanity), as some say, a merely comparative (or relative) matter (*κατὰ σύγκρισιν*⁵), that we may not speak in an unwarrantable manner of a

¹ τροπή γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπείρου, κινεῖσθαι μὴ πεφυκότος, ἢ κίνησις; or may the sense be, "for a change in that which is in its nature infinite would just be the moving of that which is incapable of movement?"

² μηδ' ἐνὶ παντελῶς ὁ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ Πατρὶ γενόμενος ταυτὸν τῇ σαρκὶ διὰ τὴν κένωσιν. Thus in effect Combesius, correcting the Latin version of Anastasius. Baunius adopts the reading in the Greek Codex Nicephori, viz. ἔνωσιν for κένωσιν, and renders it, "In nothing was the Word, who is the same with the Father, made the same with the flesh through the union" (*nulla re Verbum quod idem est cum Patre factum est idem cum carne propter unionem*).

³ δίχα σαρκός, *i.e.* what He was before assuming the flesh, that He continued to be in Himself, viz. independent of limitation.

⁴ Or existence, ὕπαρξις. Anastasius makes it *substantia*.

⁵ Migne follows Capperonier in taking *σύγκρισις* in this passage to mean not "comparison" or "relation," but "commixture," the "concretion and commixture" of the divine and human, which was the error

greater and a less in one who is ever the same in Himself.¹ For comparisons can be instituted only between objects of like nature, and not between objects of unlike nature. But between God the Maker of all things and that which is made, between the infinite and the finite, between infinitude and finitude, there can be no kind of comparison, since these differ from each other not in mere comparison (or relatively), but absolutely in essence. And yet at the same time there has been effected a certain inexpressible and irrefragable union of the two into one subsistence (ὑπόστασιν), which entirely passes the understanding of anything that is made. For the divine is just the same after the incarnation that it was before the incarnation; in its essence infinite, illimitable, impassible, incomparable, unchangeable, inconvertible, self-potent (αὐτοσθενές), and, in short, subsisting in essence alone the infinitely worthy good.

FRAGMENT II.

The God of all things therefore became truly, according to the Scriptures, without conversion, sinless man, and that in a manner known to Himself alone, as He is the natural Artificer of things which are above our comprehension. And by that same saving act of the incarnation (σωτήριον σάρκωσιν) He introduced into the flesh the activity of His proper divinity, yet without having it (that activity) either circumscribed by the flesh through the exinanition, or growing naturally out of the flesh as it grew out of His divinity,² but manifested through it in the things which He wrought in a divine manner in His incarnate state. For the flesh did not become divinity in nature by a transmutation of nature, as though it became essentially flesh of divinity. But what it was before, that also it continued to be in nature and activity

of Apollinaris and Eutyches in their doctrine of the incarnation, and which had been already refuted by Tertullian, *Contra Praxeam*, c. xxvii.

¹ Or, "for that would be to speak of the same being as greater and less than Himself."

² οὐδ' ὥσπερ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος οὕτω καὶ αὐτῆς φυσικῶς ἐκφυομένην.

when united with divinity, even as the Saviour said, "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."¹ And working and enduring in the flesh things which were proper to sinless flesh, He proved the evacuation of divinity (to be) for our sakes, confirmed as it was by wonders and by sufferings of the flesh naturally. For with this purpose did the God of all things become man, viz. in order that by suffering in the flesh, which is susceptible of suffering, He might redeem our whole race, which was sold to death; and that by working wondrous things by His divinity, which is unsusceptible of suffering, through the medium of the flesh He might restore it to that incorruptible and blessed life from which it fell away by yielding to the devil; and that He might establish the holy orders of intelligent existences in the heavens in immutability by the mystery of His incarnation (σωματώσεως), the doing of which is the recapitulation of all things in Himself.² He remained therefore, also, after His incarnation, according to nature, God infinite, and more (ὑπεράπειρος), having the activity proper and suitable to Himself,—an activity growing out of His divinity essentially, and manifested through His perfectly holy flesh by wondrous acts œconomically, to the intent that He might be believed in as God, while working out of Himself (αὐτουργῶν) by the flesh, which by nature is weak, the salvation of the universe.

FRAGMENT III.

Now, with the view of explaining, by means of an illustration, what has been said concerning the Saviour, (I may say that) the power of thought (λόγος) which I have by nature is proper and suitable to me, as being possessed of a rational and intelligent soul; and to this soul there pertains, according to nature, a self-moved energy and first power, ever-moving, to wit, the thought that streams from it naturally. This thought I utter, when there is occasion, by fitting it to words, and expressing it rightly in signs, using the tongue as an organ, or artificial characters, showing that it is heard,

¹ Matt. xxvi. 41.

² Referring probably to Eph. i. 10.

though it comes into actuality by means of objects foreign to itself, and yet is not changed itself by those foreign objects.¹ For my natural thought does not belong to the tongue or the letters, although I effect its utterance by means of these; but it belongs to me, who speak according to my nature, and by means of both these express it as my own, streaming as it does always from my intelligent soul according to its nature, and uttered by means of my bodily tongue organically, as I have said, when there is occasion. Now, to institute a comparison with that which is utterly beyond comparison, just as in us the power of thought that belongs by nature to the soul is brought to utterance by means of our bodily tongue without any change in itself, so, too, in the wondrous incarnation (*σωματώσεως*) of God is the omnipotent and all-creating energy of the entire deity (*τῆς ὅλης θεότητος*) manifested without mutation in itself, by means of His perfectly holy flesh, and in the works which He wrought after a divine manner, (that energy of the deity) remaining in its essence free from all circumscription, although it shone through the flesh, which is itself essentially limited. For that which is in its nature unoriginated cannot be circumscribed by an originated nature, although this latter may have grown into one with it (*συνέφυ*) by a conception which circumscribes all understanding:² nor can this be ever brought into the same nature and natural activity with that, so long as they remain each within its own proper and inconvertible nature.³ For it is only in objects of the same nature that there is the motion that works the same works, showing that the being (*οὐσίαν*) whose power is natural is incapable in any manner of being or becoming the possession of a being of a different nature without mutation.⁴

¹ The text is, *διὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων μὲν ὑπάρχοντα*. Anastasius reads *μὴ* for *μέν*.

² *Κατὰ σύλληψιν πάντα περιγράφουσιν νοῦν*

³ *οὔτε μὴν εἰς τ' αὐτὸν αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι φύσεώς ποτε καὶ φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, ἕως ἂν ἐκότερον τῆς ἰδίας ἐντὸς μένει φυσικῆς ἀτρεψίας*. To *φέρεσθαι* we supply again *πέφυκε*.

⁴ The sense is extremely doubtful here. The text runs thus: *ὁμοφυῶν*

FRAGMENT IV.

For, in the view of apostles and prophets and teachers, the mystery of the divine incarnation has been distinguished as having two points of contemplation natural to it,¹ distinct in all things, inasmuch as on the one hand it is the subsistence of perfect deity, and on the other is demonstrative of full humanity. As long, therefore,² as the Word is acknowledged to be in substance one, of one energy, there shall never in any way be known a movement (change, *κίνησις*) in the two. For while God, who is essentially ever-existent, became by His infinite power, according to His will, sinless man, He is what He was, in all wherein God is known; and what He became, He is in all wherein man is known and can be recognised. In both aspects of Himself He never falls out of Himself (*μένει ἀνέκπτωτος*), in His divine activities and in His human alike, preserving in both relations His own essentially unchangeable perfection.

FRAGMENT V.

For lately a certain person, Beron, along with some others, forsook the delusion of Valentinus, only to involve themselves in deeper error, affirming that the flesh assumed to Himself by the Word became capable of working like works with the deity (*γενέσθαι ταυτουργὸν τῇ θεότητι*) by virtue of its assumption, and that the deity became susceptible of suffering in the same way with the flesh (*ταυτοπαθῇ τῇ σαρκί*) by virtue of the exinanition (*κένωσιν*); and thus they assert the doctrine that there was at the same time a conversion and a

γὰρ μόνων ἡ ταυτουργός ἐστι κίνησις σημαίνουσα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἥς φυσικὴ κατέστηκε δύναμις, ἑτεροφυσὸς ιδιότητος οὐσίας εἶναι κατ' οὐδένα λόγον, ἢ γενέσθαι δίχα τροπῆς δυναμένην. Anastasius renders it: Connaturalium enim tantum per se operans est motus, manifestans substantiam, cujus naturalem constat esse virtutem: diversæ naturæ proprietatis substantia nulla naturæ esse vel fieri sine convertibilitate valente.

¹ διττὴν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχον διέγνωσται τὴν ἐν πᾶσι φυσικὴν θεωρίαν.

² The text goes, *ἕως ἂν οὐχ*, which is adopted by Combesius. But Capperonnier and Migne read *οὐν* for *οὐχ*, as we have rendered it.

mixing and a fusing (*σύγχυσις*) of the two aspects one with the other. For if the flesh that was assumed became capable of working like works with the deity, it is evident that it also became God in essence in all wherein God is essentially known. And if the deity by the exinanition became susceptible of the same sufferings with the flesh, it is evident that it also became in essence flesh in all wherein flesh essentially can be known. For objects that act in like manner (*ὁμοεργῇ*), and work like works, and are altogether of like kind, and are susceptible of like suffering with each other, admit of no difference of nature; and if the natures are fused together (*συγκεχυμένων*), Christ will be a duality (*δυάς*); and if the persons (*προσώπων*) are separated, there will be a quaternity (*τετράς*¹),—a thing which is altogether to be avoided. And how will they conceive of the one and the same Christ, who is at once God and man by nature? And what manner of existence will He have according to them, if He has become man by a conversion of the deity, and if He has become God by a change of the flesh? For the mutation (*μετάπτωσης*) of these, the one into the other, is a complete subversion of both. Let the discussion, then, be considered by us again in a different way.

FRAGMENT VI.

Among Christians it is settled as the doctrine of piety, that, according to nature itself, and to the activity and to whatever else pertains thereunto, God is equal and the same with Himself (*ἴσον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταυτόν*), having nothing that is His unequal to Himself at all and heterogeneous (*ἀκατάλληλον*). If, then, according to Beron, the flesh that He assumed to Himself became possessed of the like natural energy with them, it is evident that it also became possessed of the like nature with Him in all wherein that nature consists,—to wit, non-origination, non-generation, infinitude, eternity, incomprehensibility, and whatever else in the way of the transcendent the theological mind discerns in deity; and thus they

¹ i.e. instead of Trinity.

both underwent conversion, neither the one nor the other preserving any more the substantial relation of its own proper nature (*τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως οὐσιώδη λόγον*). For he who recognises an identical operation (*ταυτουργίαν*) in things of unlike nature, introduces at the same time a fusion of natures and a separation of persons (*διαίρεσιν προσωπικήν*), their natural existence (*ὑπάρξεως*) being made entirely undistinguishable by the transference of properties (*ιδιωμάτων*).

FRAGMENT VII.

But if it (the flesh) did not become of like nature with that (the deity), neither shall it ever become of like natural energy with that; that He may not be shown to have His energy unequal with His nature, and heterogeneous, and, through all that pertains to Himself, to have entered on an existence outside of His natural equality and identity (*φυσικῆς ἔξω γεγωνῶς ἰσότητος καὶ ταυτότητος*), which is an impious supposition.

FRAGMENT VIII.


Into this error, then, have they been carried, by believing, unhappily, that that divine energy was made the property of the flesh which was only manifested through the flesh in His miraculous actions; by which energy Christ, in so far as He is apprehended as God, gave existence to the universe, and now maintains and governs it. For they did not perceive that it is impossible for the energy of the divine nature to become the property (*ιδίωμα*) of a being of a different nature (*ἐτεροφανοῦς οὐσίας*) apart from conversion; nor did they understand that that is not by any means the property of the flesh which is only manifested through it, and does not spring out of it according to nature; and yet the proof thereof was clear and evident to them. For I, by speaking with the tongue and writing with the hand, reveal through both these one and the same thought of my intelligent soul, its energy (or operation) being natural; in no way showing

it as springing naturally out of tongue or hand; nor yet (showing) even the spoken thought as made to belong to them in virtue of its revelation by their means. For no intelligent person ever recognised tongue or hand as capable of thought, just as also no one ever recognised the perfectly holy flesh of God, in virtue of its assumption, and in virtue of the revelation of the divine energy through its medium, as becoming in nature creative (*δημιουργόν*). But the pious confession of the believer is that, with a view to our salvation, and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things incorporated with Himself (*ένουσιώσας*) a rational soul and a sensible (or sensitive, *αἰσθητικοῦ*) body from the all-holy Mary, ever-virgin, by an undefiled conception, without conversion, and was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness: the same was perfect God, and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man. In His deity He wrought divine things through His all-holy flesh,—such things, namely, as did not pertain to the flesh by nature; and in His humanity He suffered human things,—such things, namely, as did not pertain to deity by nature, by the upbearing of the deity (*ἀνοχῇ πάσχων θεότητος*). He wrought nothing divine without the body (*γυμνὸν σώματος*); nor did the same do anything human without the participation of deity (*ἄμοιρον δράσας θεότητος*). Thus He preserved for Himself a new and fitting method (*καινοπρεπῇ τρόπον*) by which He wrought (according to the manner of) both, while that which was natural to both remained unchanged (*τὸ κατ' ἄμφω φυσικῶς ἀναλλοίωτον*); to the accrediting (*εἰς πίστωσιν*) of His perfect incarnation (*ἐνανθρωπήσεως*), which is really genuine, and has nothing lacking in it (*μηδὲν ἐχούσης φαυλότητος*). Beron, therefore, since the case stands with him as I have already stated, confounding together in nature the deity and the humanity of Christ in a single energy (*ἐνεργείας μονάδι*), and again separating them in person, subverts the life, not knowing that identical operation (*ταυτουργίαν*) is indicative of the connatural identity only of connatural persons (*μόνης τῆς τῶν ὁμοφυῶν προσώπων ὁμοφυοῦς ταυτότητος*).

THE DISCOURSE ON THE HOLY THEOPHANY.

BY

HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR.

1. OOD, yea, very good, are all the works of our God and Saviour—all of them that eye seeth and mind perceiveth, all that reason interprets and hand handles, all that intellect comprehends and human nature understands. For what richer beauty can there be than that of the circle (δίσκου) of heaven? And what form of more blooming fairness than that of earth's surface? And what is there swifter in the course than the chariot of the sun? And what more graceful car than the lunar orb (σεληνιακοῦ στοιχείου)? And what work more wonderful than the compact mosaic of the stars?¹ And what more productive of supplies than the seasonable winds? And what more spotless mirror than the light of day? And what creature more excellent than man? Very good, then, are all the works of our God and Saviour. And what more requisite gift, again, is there than the element (φύσεως) of water? For with water all things are washed and nourished, and cleansed and bedewed. Water bears the earth, water produces the dew, water exhilarates the vine; water matures the corn in the ear, water ripens the grape-cluster, water softens the olive, water sweetens the palm-date, water reddens the rose and decks the violet, water makes the lily bloom with its brilliant cups. And why should I speak at length? Without the element of water, none of the present order of things can subsist. So necessary is the element of water; for

¹ πολυπληγῆτος τῶν ἄστρων μυσίου.

the other elements (*στοιχεῖα*) took their places beneath the highest vault of the heavens, but the nature of water obtained a seat also above the heavens. . And to this the prophet himself is a witness, when he exclaims, "Praise the Lord, ye heavens of heavens, and the water that is above the heavens."¹

2. Nor is this the only thing that proves the dignity (*ἀξιοπιστίαν*) of the water. But there is also that which is more honourable than all—the fact that Christ, the Maker of all, came down as the rain,² and was known as a spring,³ and diffused Himself as a river,⁴ and was baptized in the Jordan.⁵ For you have just heard how Jesus came to John, and was baptized by him in the Jordan. Oh things strange beyond compare! How should the boundless River⁶ that makes glad the city of God have been dipped in a little water! The illimitable Spring that bears life to all men, and has no end, was covered by poor and temporary waters! He who is present everywhere, and absent nowhere—who is incomprehensible to angels and invisible to men—comes to the baptism according to His own good pleasure. When you hear these things, beloved, take them not as if spoken literally, but accept them as presented in a figure (*œconomically*). Whence also the Lord was not unnoticed by the watery element in what He did in secret, in the kindness of His condescension to man. "For the waters saw Him, and were afraid."⁷ They well-nigh broke from their place, and burst away from their boundary. Hence the prophet, having this in his view many generations ago, puts the question, "What aileth thee, O sea, that thou fleddest; and thou, Jordan, that thou wast driven back?"⁸ And they in reply said, We have seen the Creator of all things in the "form of a servant,"⁹ and being ignorant of the mystery of the *œconomy*, we were lashed with fear.

3. But we, who know the *œconomy*, adore His mercy, because He hath come to save and not to judge the world. Wherefore John, the forerunner of the Lord, who knew

¹ Ps. cxlviii. 4.

² Hos. vi. 3.

³ John iv. 14.

⁴ John vii. 38.

⁵ Matt. iii. 13.

⁶ Ps. xlvi. 4.

⁷ Ps. lxxvii. 16.

⁸ Ps. cxiv. 5.

⁹ Phil. ii. 7.

not this mystery (before), on learning that He is Lord in truth, cried out, and spake to those who came to be baptized of him, "O generation of vipers,"¹ why look ye so earnestly at me? "I am not the Christ;"² I am the servant, and not the lord; I am the subject, and not the king; I am the sheep, and not the shepherd; I am a man, and not God. By my birth I loosed the barrenness of my mother; I did not make virginity barren.³ I was brought up from beneath; I did not come down from above. I bound the tongue of my father;⁴ I did not unfold divine grace. I was known by my mother, and I was not announced by a star.⁵ I am worthless, and the least; but "after me there comes One who is before me"⁶—after me, indeed, in time, but before me by reason of the inaccessible and unutterable light of divinity. "There comes One mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."⁷ I am subject to authority, but He has authority in Himself. I am bound by sins, but He is the Remover of sins. I apply (*παράπτω*) the law, but He bringeth grace to light. I teach as a slave, but He judgeth as the Master. I have the earth as my couch, but He possesses heaven. I baptize with the baptism of repentance, but He confers the gift of adoption: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Why give ye attention to me? I am not the Christ.

4. As John says these things to the multitude, and as the people watch in eager expectation of seeing some strange spectacle with their bodily eyes, and the devil⁸ is struck with amazement at such a testimony from John, lo, the Lord appears, plain, solitary, uncovered (*γυμνός*), without escort (*ἀπρο-*

¹ Matt. iii. 7.

² John i. 20.

³ *ὡς παρθένων ἐστέρωσα.* So Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Sancta Theophania*, p. 106, edit. Vossii: "Thou, when born of the Virgin Mary, . . . didst not loose her virginity; but didst preserve it, and gifted her with the name of mother."

⁴ Luke i. 20.

⁵ Matt. ii. 9.

⁶ John i. 27.

⁷ Matt. iii. 11.

⁸ It was a common opinion among the ancient theologians that the devil was ignorant of the mystery of the œconomy, founding on such passages as Matt. iv. 3, 1 Cor. ii. 8. (Fabricius.)

στάτευτος), having on Him the body of man like a garment, and hiding the dignity of the Divinity, that He may elude the snares of the dragon. And not only did He approach John as Lord without royal retinue; but even like a mere man, and one involved in sin, He bent His head to be baptized by John. Wherefore John, on seeing so great a humbling of Himself, was struck with astonishment at the affair, and began to prevent Him, saying, as ye have just heard, "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?"¹ What doest Thou, O Lord? Thou teachest things not according to rule.² I have preached one thing (regarding Thee), and Thou performest another; the devil has heard one thing, and perceives another. Baptize me with the fire of Divinity; why waitest Thou for water? Enlighten me with the Spirit; why dost Thou attend upon a creature? Baptize me, the Baptist, that Thy pre-eminence may be known. I, O Lord, baptize with the baptism of repentance, and I cannot baptize those who come to me unless they first confess fully their sins. Be it so then that I baptize Thee, what hast Thou to confess? Thou art the Remover of sins, and wilt Thou be baptized with the baptism of repentance? Though I should venture to baptize Thee, the Jordan dares not to come near Thee. "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?"

5. And what saith the Lord to him? "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."³ "Suffer it to be so now," John; thou art not wiser than I. Thou seest as man; I foreknow as God. It becomes me to do this first, and thus to teach. I engage in nothing unbecoming, for I am invested with honour. Dost thou marvel, O John, that I am not come in my dignity? The purple robe of kings suits not one in private station, but military splendour suits a king: am I come to a prince, and not to a friend? "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness:" I am the Fulfiller of the law; I seek to leave nothing wanting to its whole fulfilment, that so after me Paul may exclaim, "Christ is the fulfilling of the law

¹ Matt. iii. 14.² ἀκανόνιστα δογματίζεις.³ Matt. iii. 15.

for righteousness to every one that believeth.”¹ “Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.” Baptize me, John, in order that no one may despise baptism. I am baptized by thee, the servant, that no one among kings or dignitaries may scorn to be baptized by the hand of a poor priest. Suffer me to go down into the Jordan, in order that they may hear my Father’s testimony, and recognise the power of the Son. “Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.” Then at length John suffers Him. “And Jesus, when He was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and the heavens were opened unto Him; and, lo, the Spirit of God descended like a dove, and rested upon Him. And a voice (came) from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”²

6. Do you see, beloved, how many and how great blessings we would have lost, if the Lord had yielded to the exhortation of John, and declined baptism? For the heavens were shut before this; the region above was inaccessible. We would in that case descend to the lower parts, but we would not ascend to the upper. But was it only that the Lord was baptized? He also renewed the old man, and committed to him again the sceptre of adoption. For straightway “the heavens were opened to Him.” A reconciliation took place of the visible with the invisible; the celestial orders were filled with joy; the diseases of earth were healed; secret things were made known; those at enmity were restored to amity. For you have heard the word of the evangelist, saying, “The heavens were opened to Him,” on account of three wonders. For when Christ the Bridegroom was baptized, it was meet that the bridal-chamber of heaven should open its brilliant gates. And in like manner also, when the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove, and the Father’s voice spread everywhere, it was meet that “the gates of heaven should be lifted up.”³ “And, lo, the heavens were opened to Him; and a voice was heard, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”

¹ Rom. x. 4.² Matt. iii. 16, 17.³ Ps. xxiv. 7.

7. The beloved generates love, and the light immaterial the light inaccessible.¹ “This is my beloved Son,” He who, being manifested on earth and yet unseparated from the Father’s bosom, was manifested, and yet did not appear.² For the appearing is a different thing, since in appearance the baptizer here is superior to the baptized. For this reason did the Father send down the Holy Spirit from heaven upon Him who was baptized. For as in the ark of Noah the love of God toward man is signified by the dove, so also now the Spirit, descending in the form of a dove, bearing as it were the fruit of the olive, rested on Him to whom the witness was borne. For what reason? That the faithfulness of the Father’s voice might be made known, and that the prophetic utterance of a long time past might be ratified. And what utterance is this? “The voice of the Lord (is) on the waters, the God of glory thundered; the Lord (is) upon many waters.”³ And what voice? “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.” This is He who is named the son of Joseph, and (who is) according to the divine essence my Only-begotten. “This is my beloved Son”—He who is hungry, and yet maintains myriads; who is weary, and yet gives rest to the weary; who has not where to lay His head,⁴ and yet bears up all things in His hand; who suffers, and yet heals sufferings; who is smitten,⁵ and yet confers liberty on the world;⁶ who is pierced in the side,⁷ and yet repairs the side of Adam.⁸

8. But give me now your best attention, I pray you, for I wish to go back to the fountain of life, and to view the fountain

¹ *φῶς αὐτὸν γεννᾷ φῶς ἀπρόσιτον*. The Son is called “Light of Light” in the Discourse against Noetus, ch. x. In *φῶς ἀπρόσιτον* the reference is to 1 Tim. vi. 16.

² *ἐπεφάνη οὐκ ἐφάνη*. See *Dorner’s Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Div. i. vol. ii. p. 97 (Clark).

³ Ps. xxix. 3.

⁴ Luke ix. 5.

⁵ *ῥαπιζόμενος*, referring to the slap in the process of manumitting slaves.

⁶ Heb. i. 3.

⁷ Matt. xxvi. 67.

⁸ That is, the sin introduced by Eve, who was formed by God out of Adam’s side. (Fabricius.)

that gushes with healing. The Father of immortality sent the immortal Son and Word into the world, who came to man in order to wash him with water and the Spirit; and He, begetting us again to incorruption of soul and body, breathed into us the breath (spirit) of life, and endued us with an incorruptible panoply. If, therefore, man has become immortal, he will also be God.¹ And if he is made God by water and the Holy Spirit after the regeneration of the laver (*κολυμβήθρας*), he is found to be also joint-heir with Christ² after the resurrection from the dead. Wherefore I preach to this effect: Come, all ye kindreds of the nations, to the immortality of the baptism. I bring good tidings of life to you who tarry in the darkness of ignorance. Come into liberty from slavery, into a kingdom from tyranny, into incorruption from corruption. And how, saith one, shall we come? How? By water and the Holy Ghost. This is the water in conjunction with the Spirit, by which paradise is watered, by which the earth is enriched, by which plants grow, by which animals multiply, and (to sum up the whole in a single word) by which man is begotten again and endued with life, in which also Christ was baptized, and in which the Spirit descended in the form of a dove.

9. This is the Spirit that at the beginning “moved upon the face of the waters;”³ by whom the world moves; by whom creation consists, and all things have life; who also wrought mightily in the prophets,⁴ and descended in flight upon Christ.⁵ This is the Spirit that was given to the apostles in the form of fiery tongues.⁶ This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, “Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.”⁷ Of this Spirit Gabriel also spoke to the Virgin, “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.”⁸ By this Spirit

¹ ἔσται καὶ Θεός, referring probably to 2 Pet. i. 4, ἵνα διὰ τούτων γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, “that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.”

² Rom. viii. 17.

³ Gen. i. 2.

⁴ Acts xxviii. 25.

⁵ Matt. iii. 16.

⁶ Acts ii. 3.

⁷ Ps. li. 10.

⁸ Luke i. 35.

Peter spake that blessed word, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."¹ By this Spirit the rock of the church was stablished.² This is the Spirit, the Comforter, that is sent because of thee,³ that He may show thee to be the son (τέκνον) of God.

10. Come then, be begotten again, O man, into the adoption of God. And how? says one. If thou practisest adultery no more, and committest not murder, and servest not idols; if thou art not overmastered by pleasure; if thou dost not suffer the feeling of pride to rule thee; if thou cleanseest off the filthiness of impurity, and putttest off the burden of sin; if thou castest off the armour of the devil, and putttest on the breastplate of faith, even as Isaiah saith, "Wash you, and seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow. And come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, I shall make them white as snow; and though they be like crimson, I shall make them white as wool. And if ye be willing, and hear my voice, ye shall eat the good of the land."⁴ Do you see, beloved, how the prophet spake before-time of the purifying power of baptism? For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration, and renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ; who denies the enemy, and makes the confession that Christ is God; who puts off the bondage, and puts on the adoption,—he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun,⁵ flashing forth the beams of righteousness, and, which is indeed the chief thing, he returns a son of God and joint-heir with Christ. To Him be the glory and the power, together with His most holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

¹ Matt. xvi. 16.

² Matt. xvi. 18.

³ John xvi. 26.

⁴ Isa. i. 16-19.

⁵ This seems to refer to what the poets sing as to the sun rising out of the waves of ocean. (Fabricius.)

FRAGMENTS

OF

DISCOURSES OR HOMILIES BY HIPPOLYTUS.

I.

[From a Discourse on the Resurrection,¹ in Anastasius Sinaita,
Hodegus, p. 350.]

From the Discourse of Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, on the Resurrection
and Incorruption.



EN, he says, "in the resurrection will be like the
angels of God,"² to wit, in incorruption, and im-
mortality, and incapacity of loss.³ For the incor-
ruptible nature is not the subject of generation
(γεννᾶται); it grows not, sleeps not, hungers not, thirsts not,
is not wearied, suffers not, dies not, is not pierced by nails and
spear, sweats not, drops not with blood. Of such kind are
the natures of the angels and of souls released from the body.
For both these are of another kind, and different from these
creatures of our world, which are visible and perishing.

II.

[From the Discourse on the Theology or the Doctrine of Christ's Divine
Nature, extant in the *Acts of the Lateran Council*, under Martinus
I., ann. 649, secret. v. p. 287, vol. vii. edit. Veneto-Labb.]

From the Discourse of St Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, on the Divine
Nature (περὶ θεολογίας).

God is capable of willing, but not of not willing (οὐ τὸ μὴ
θέλειν), for that pertains only to one that changes and makes

¹ This treatise is mentioned in the list of his works given on the statue,
and also by Jerome, Sophronius, Nicephorus, Honorius, etc.

² Matt. xxii. 30.

³ ἀρρησίχα.

choice (τρεπτοῦ καὶ προαιρετοῦ); for things that are being made follow the eternal will of God, by which also things that are made abide sustained.

III.

[From a Homily on the Lord's Paschal Supper, *ibid.* p. 293.]

St. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, in his Homily on the Paschal Supper.

He was altogether (ὅλος) in all, and everywhere; and though He filleth the universe up to all the principalities of the air, He stripped Himself again. And for a brief space He cries that the cup might pass from Him, with a view to show truly that He was also man.¹ But remembering, too, the purpose for which He was sent, He fulfils the dispensation (œconomy) for which He was sent, and exclaims, "Father, not my will,"² and, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."³

IV.

[From a Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah. In Theodoret, Dial. i., bearing the title "Unchangeable" (ἀτρεπτος); *Works*, vol. iv. p. 36.]

Take me, O Samuel, the heifer brought to Bethlehem, in order to show the king begotten of David, and him who is anointed to be king and priest by the Father.

[From the same Discourse.]

Tell me, O blessed Mary, what that was that was conceived by thee in the womb, and what that was that was born by thee in thy virgin matrix. For it was the first-born Word of God that descended to thee from heaven, and was formed as a first-born man in the womb, in order that the first-born Word of God might be shown to be united with a first-born man.

[From the same Discourse.]

And in the second (form),—to wit, by the prophets, as by Samuel, calling back and delivering the people from the

¹ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, also man. See Grab. Bull's *Defens. fid. Nic.* p. 103.

² Luke xxii. 42.

³ Matt. xxvi. 41.

slavery of the aliens. And in the third (form), that in which He was incarnate, taking to Himself humanity from the Virgin, in which character also He saw the city, and wept over it.

V.

[From the same Discourse. From Theodoret's Second Dialogue, bearing the title "Unmixed," ἀσύγχυτος; *Works*, vol. iv. p. 88.]

And for this reason three seasons of the year prefigured the Saviour Himself, so that He should fulfil the mysteries prophesied of Him. In the Passover season, so as to exhibit Himself as one destined to be sacrificed like a sheep, and to prove Himself the true Paschal-lamb, even as the apostle says, "Even Christ," who is God, "our passover was sacrificed for us."¹ And at Pentecost so as to presignify the kingdom of heaven, as He Himself first ascended to heaven and brought man as a gift to God.

VI.

[From an Oration on "The Lord is my Shepherd." In Theodoret, Dial. i. p. 36.]

And an ark of imperishable wood was the Saviour Himself. For by this was signified the imperishable and incorruptible tabernacle (of His body), which engendered no corruption of sin. For the man who has sinned also has this confession to make: "My wounds stank, and were corrupt, because of my foolishness."² But the Lord was without sin, being of imperishable wood in respect of His humanity,—that is to say, being of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit, covered, as it were, within and without with the purest gold of the Word of God.

VII.

[From a Discourse on the "Great Song." In Theodoret, Dial. ii. pp. 88, 89.]

He who rescued from the lowest hell the first-formed man of earth when he was lost and bound with the chains of

¹ 1 Cor. v. 7.

² Ps. xxxviii. 5.

death ; He who came down from above, and raised the earthy on high (τὸν κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω) ; He who became the evangelist of the dead, and the redeemer of the souls, and the resurrection of the buried,—He was constituted the helper of vanquished man, being made like him Himself, (so that) the first-born Word acquainted Himself with the first-formed Adam in the Virgin ; He who is spiritual sought out the earthy in the womb ; He who is the ever-living One sought out him who, through disobedience, is subject to death ; He who is heavenly called the terrene to the things that are above ; He who is the nobly-born sought, by means of His own subjection, to declare the slave free ; He transformed the man into adamant who was dissolved into dust and made the food of the serpent, and declared Him who hung on the tree to be Lord over the conqueror, and thus through the tree He is found victor.

[From the same Discourse.]

For they who know not now the Son of God incarnate, shall know in Him who comes as Judge in glory, Him who is now despised in the body of His humiliation.

[From the same Discourse.]

And the apostles, when they came to the sepulchre on the third day, did not find the body of Jesus ; just as the children of Israel went up the mount and sought for the tomb of Moses, but did not find it.

VIII.

[From a Discourse on the beginning of Isaiah. In Theodoret, Dial. i. p. 36.]

Under the figure of Egypt he described the world ; and under things made with hands, idolatry ; and under the earthquake, the subversion and dissolution of the earth itself. And he represented the Lord the Word as a light cloud, the purest tabernacle, enthroned on which our Lord Jesus Christ entered into this life in order to subvert error.

IX.

[From a second Oration on Daniel. In the tractate of Eustratius, a presbyter of the Church of Constantinople, "Against those who allege that souls, as soon as they are released from the body, cease to act," ch. xix., as edited by Allatius in his work on the *Continuous Harmony of the Western and the Eastern Church on the Dogma of Purgatory*, p. 492.]

Now Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop of Rome, in his second discourse on Daniel, speaks thus :—

Then indeed Azarias, standing along with the others, made their acknowledgments to God with song and prayer in the midst of the furnace. Beginning thus with His holy and glorious and honourable name, they came to the works of the Lord themselves, and named first of all those of heaven, and glorified Him, saying, "Bless the Lord, all ye works of the Lord." Then they passed to the sons of men, and taking up their hymn in order, they then named the spirits that people Tartarus beneath the earth, and the souls of the righteous, in order that they might praise God together with them.

X.

[From an Oration on the Distribution of Talents. In Theodoret, Dial. ii. p. 88.]

Now a person might say that these men, and those who hold a different opinion, are yet near neighbours, being involved in like error. For those men, indeed, either profess that Christ came into our life a mere man, and deny the talent of His divinity, or else, acknowledging Him to be God, they deny, on the other hand, His humanity, and teach that His appearances to those who saw Him as man were illusory, inasmuch as He did not bear with Him true manhood, but was rather a kind of phantom manifestation. Of this class are, for example, Marcion and Valentinus, and the Gnostics, who sunder the Word from the flesh, and thus set aside the one talent, viz. the incarnation.

XI.

[From a Discourse on "The two Robbers." In Theodoret's third Dialogue, bearing the title "Impassible" (*ἀπαθής*), p. 156.]

The body of the Lord presented both these to the world, the sacred blood and the holy water.

[From the same Discourse.]

And His body, though dead after the manner of man, possesses in it great power of life. For streams which flow not from dead bodies flowed forth from Him, viz. blood and water; in order that we might know what power for life is held by the virtue that dwelt in His body, so as that it appears not to be dead like others, and is able to shed forth for us the springs of life.

[From the same Discourse.]

And not a bone of the Holy Lamb is broken, this figure showing us that suffering toucheth not His strength. For the bones are the strength of the body.

FRAGMENTS FROM OTHER WRITINGS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

I.

[Preserved by the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, ex ed. Cangii, p. 6.]



NOW Hippolytus, a martyr for piety, who was bishop of the place called Portus, near Rome, in his book *Against all Heresies*, wrote in these terms:—

I perceive, then, that the matter is one of contention. For he¹ speaks thus: Christ kept the supper, then, on that day, and then suffered; whence it is needful that I, too, should keep it in the same manner as the Lord did. But he has fallen into error by not perceiving that at the time when Christ suffered He did not eat the passover of the law. For He was the passover that had been of old proclaimed, and that was fulfilled on that determinate day.

II.

[In the same.]

And again the same (authority), in the first book of his treatise on the Holy Supper, speaks thus:—

Now that neither in the first nor in the last there was anything false is evident; for he who said of old, “I will not any more eat the passover,”² probably partook of supper before the passover. But the passover He did not eat, but He suffered; for it was not the time for Him to eat.

¹ *i.e.* the opponent of Hippolytus, one of the forerunners of the Quartodecimans.

² Luke xxii. 16.

III.

[From a Letter of Hippolytus to a certain queen. In Theodoret's Dial. ii., bearing the title "Unmixed" (*ἀσύγχυτος*), p. 82; and Dial. iii., entitled "Impassible" (*ἀπαθής*), p. 155.]

Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, in a letter to a certain queen.¹

He calls Him, then, "the first-fruits of them that sleep,"² as the "first-begotten of the dead."³ For He, having risen, and being desirous to show that that same (body) had been raised which had also died, when His disciples were in doubt, called Thomas to Him, and said, "Reach hither; handle me, and see: for a spirit hath not bone and flesh, as ye see me have."⁴

[From the same Letter.]

In calling Him *the first-fruits*, he testified to that which we have said, viz. that the Saviour, taking to Himself the flesh out of the same lump, raised this same flesh, and made it the first-fruits of the flesh of the righteous, in order that all we who have believed in the hope of the Risen One may have the resurrection in expectation.

THE STORY OF A MAIDEN OF CORINTH, AND A CERTAIN PERSON MAGISTRIANUS.

[Extract in Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. cxlviii.; Gallandi, *Biblioth.* ii. 513.]

The account given by Hippolytus, the friend of the apostles.

In another little book bearing the name of Hippolytus, the friend of the apostles, I found a story of the following nature:—

¹ On the question as to who this queen was, see Stephen le Moync, in notes to the *Varia Sacra*, pp. 1103, 1112. In the marble monument mention is made of a letter of Hippolytus to Severina.

² 1 Cor. xv. 20.

³ Col. i. 18.

⁴ John xx. 27; Luke xxiv. 39.

There lived a certain most noble and beautiful maiden¹ in the city of Corinth, in the careful exercise of a virtuous life. At that time some persons falsely charged her before the judge there, who was a Greek, with cursing the times, and the princes, and the images. . Now those who trafficked in such things, brought her beauty under the notice of the impious judge, who lusted after women. And he gladly received the accusation with his equine ears and lascivious thoughts. And when she was brought before the bloodstained (judge), he was driven still more frantic with profligate passion. But when, after bringing every device to bear upon her, the profane man could not gain over this woman of God, he subjected the noble maiden to various outrages. And when he failed in these too, and was unable to seduce her from her confession of Christ, the cruel judge became furious against her, and gave her over to a punishment of the following nature : Placing the chaste maiden in a brothel, he charged the manager, saying, Take this woman, and bring me three nummi by her every day. And the man, exacting the money from her by her dishonour, gave her up to any who sought her in the brothel. And when the women-hunters knew that, they came to the brothel, and, paying the price put upon their iniquity, sought to seduce her. But this most honourable maiden, taking counsel with herself to deceive them, called them to her, and earnestly besought them, saying : I have a certain sore in my secret parts, which has an extremely hateful stench ; and I am afraid that ye might come to hate me on account of the abominable sore. Grant me therefore a few days, and then ye may have me even for nothing. With these words the blessed maiden gained over the profligates, and dismissed them for a time. And with most fitting prayers she importuned God, and with contrite supplications she sought to turn Him to compassion. God, therefore, who knew her thoughts, and understood how the chaste maiden was distressed in heart for her purity, gave ear to her ; and the Guardian of the safety of all men in those days interposed with His arrangements in the following manner :

¹ Nicephorus also mentions her in his *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 13.

[In the same, chap. cxlix.]

Of a certain person Magistrianus.

There was a certain young man, Magistrianus,¹ comely in his personal appearance, and of a pious mind, whom God had inspired with such a burning spiritual zeal, that he despised even death itself. He, coming under the guise of profligacy, goes in, when the evening was far gone, to the fellow who kept the women, and pays him five nummi, and says to him, Permit me to spend this night with this damsel. Entering then with her into the private apartment, he says to her, Rise, save thyself. And taking off her garments, and dressing her in his own attire, his night-gown, his cloak, and all the habiliments of a man, he says to her, Wrap yourself up with the top of your cloak, and go out; and doing so, and signing herself entirely with the mystery of the cross, she went forth uncorrupted from that place, and was preserved perfectly stainless by the grace of Christ, and by the instrumentality of the young man, who by his own blood delivered her from dishonour. And on the following day the matter became known, and Magistrianus was brought before the infuriated judge. And when the cruel tyrant had examined the noble champion of Christ, and had learned all, he ordered him to be thrown to the wild beasts,—that in this, too, the honour-hating demon might be put to shame. For, whereas he thought to involve the noble youth in an unhallowed punishment, he exhibited him as a double martyr for Christ, inasmuch as he had both striven nobly for his own immortal soul, and persevered manfully in labours also in behalf of that noble and blessed maiden. Wherefore also he was deemed worthy of double honour with Christ, and of the illustrious and blessed crowns by His goodness.

¹ Nicephorus gives this story also, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 13.

APPENDIX TO PART II.

OF

THE WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS.

CONTAINING DUBIOUS AND SPURIOUS PIECES.

[Fabricius, *Works of Hippolytus*, vol. ii.]

A Discourse¹ by the most blessed Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, on the End of the World, and on Antichrist, and on the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I.



SINCE, then, the blessed prophets have been eyes to us, setting forth for our behoof the clear declaration of things secret, both through life, and through declaration, and through inspiration (ἐπιφουιτήσεως) of the Holy Spirit, and discoursing, too, of things not yet come to pass,² in this way also³ to all generations they have pictured forth the grandest subjects for contemplation and for action. Thus, too, they preached of the advent of God⁴ in the flesh to the world, His advent by the spotless and God-bearing (θεοτόκου⁵) Mary in the way of birth and

¹ This discourse seems to have been a homily addressed to the people.

² γεγονότα. Codex Baroccianus gives ἐνρηχότα.

³ ὅθεν καί, etc.

⁴ Others, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, of the Son of God.

⁵ This is one of those terms which some allege not to have been yet in use in the time of Hippolytus. But, as Migne observes, if there were no other argument than this against the genuineness of this discourse, this would not avail much, as the term is certainly used by Origen, Methodius, and Dionysius Alex., who were nearly coeval with Hippolytus.

growth, and the manner of His life and conversation with men, and His manifestation by baptism, and the new birth that was to be to all men, and the regeneration by the laver ; and the multitude of His miracles, and His blessed passion on the cross, and the insults which He bore at the hands of the Jews, and his burial, and His descent to Hades, and His ascent again, and redemption of the spirits that were of old (*ἀπ' αἰώνων*), and the destruction of death, and His life-giving awaking from the dead, and His re-creation of the whole world, and His assumption and return to heaven, and His reception of the Spirit, of which the apostles were deemed worthy, and again the second coming, that is destined to declare all things. For as being designated *seers* (*βλέποντες*), they of necessity signified and spake of these things beforetime.

II.

Hence, too, they indicated the day of the consummation to us, and signified beforehand the day of the apostate that is to appear and deceive men at the last times, and the beginning and end of his kingdom, and the advent of the Judge, and the life of the righteous, and the punishment of the sinners, in order that we all, bearing these things in mind day by day and hour by hour, as children of the Church, might know that “ not one jot nor one tittle of these things shall fail,”¹ as the Saviour’s own word announced. Let all of you, then, of necessity, open the eyes of your hearts and the ears of your soul, and receive the word which we are about to speak. For I shall unfold to you to-day a narration full of horror and fear, to wit, the account of the consummation, and in particular, of the seduction of the whole world by the enemy and devil ; and after these things, the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

III.

Where, then, ye friends of Christ, shall I begin ? and with what shall I make my commencement, or what shall I ex-

¹ Matt. v. 18.

pound? and what witness shall I adduce for the things spoken? But let us take those (*viz.* the prophets) with whom we began this discourse, and adduce them as credible witnesses, to confirm our exposition of the matters discussed; and after them the teaching, or rather the prophecy, of the apostles, [so as to see] how throughout the whole world they herald the day of the consummation. Since these, then, have also shown beforetime things not yet come to pass, and have declared the devices and deceits of wicked men, who are destined to be made manifest, come and let us bring forward Isaiah as our first witness, inasmuch as he instructs us in the times of the consummation. What, then, does he say? "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence: the daughter of Zion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city."¹ You see, beloved, the prophet's illumination, whereby he announced that time so many generations before. For it is not of the Jews that he spake this word of old, nor of the city of Zion, but of the church. For all the prophets have declared Sion to be the bride brought from the nations.

IV.

Wherefore let us direct our discourse to a second witness. And of what sort is this one? Listen to Osea, as he speaks thus grandly: "In those days the Lord shall bring on a burning wind from the desert against them, and shall make their veins dry, and shall make their springs desolate; and all their goodly vessels shall be spoiled. Because they rose up against God, they shall fall by the sword, and their women with child shall be ripped up."² And what else is this burning wind from the east, than the Antichrist that is to destroy and dry up the veins of the waters and the fruits of the trees in his times, because men set their hearts on his works? For which reason he shall indeed destroy them, and they shall serve him in his pollution.

¹ Isa. i. 7.² Hos. xiii. 15.

V.

Mark the agreement of prophet with prophet. Acquaint yourself also with another prophet who expresses himself in like manner. For Amos prophesied of the same things in a manner quite in accordance: "Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch therefore as ye have beaten the poor with the fist,¹ and taken choice gifts from him: ye have built houses, but ye shall not dwell in them: ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions, in trampling justice beneath your foot, and taking a bribe, and turning aside the poor in the gate from their right. Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time."² Learn, beloved, the wickedness of the men of that time, how they spoil houses and fields, and take even justice from the just; for when these things come to pass, ye may know that it is the end. For this reason art thou instructed in the wisdom of the prophet, and the revelation that is to be in those days. And all the prophets, as we have already said, have clearly signified the things that are to come to pass in the last times, just as they also have declared things of old.

VI.

But not to expend our argument entirely in going over the words of all the prophets,³ after citing one other, let us revert to the matter in hand. What is it, then, that Micah says in his prophecy? "Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry to him, Peace; and if it was not put into their mouth,⁴ they prepared⁵ war against him. Therefore night shall be

¹ κατηγχοῦνδουλίσετε in the text, for which read κατεκονδουλίσατε.

² Amos v. 11, 12, 13.

³ Manuscript E gives the better reading, λόγον ἅπαντα τοῖς τῶν προφητῶν ῥήμασι, "our whole argument on the words of the prophets."

⁴ εἰ οὐκ ἐδόθη. Manuscript B omits εἰ = and it was not put into their mouth.

⁵ The text reads ἡγίασαν. Manuscript B reads ἡγγισαν. Migne suggests ἡγειραν.

unto you, that ye shall not have a vision ;¹ and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine ; and the sun shall not go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. And the seers shall be ashamed, and the diviners confounded.”² These things we have recounted beforehand, in order that ye may know the pain that is to be in the last times, and the perturbation, and the manner of life on the part of all men toward each other,³ and their envy, and hate, and strife, and the negligence of the shepherds toward the sheep, and the unruly disposition of the people toward the priests.⁴

VII.

Wherefore all shall walk after their own will. And the children will lay hands on their parents. The wife will give up her own husband to death, and the husband will bring his own wife to judgment like a criminal. Masters will lord it over their servants savagely,⁵ and servants will assume an unruly demeanour toward their masters. None will reverence the grey hairs of the elderly, and none will have pity upon the comeliness of the youthful. The temples of God will be like houses, and there will be overturnings of the churches everywhere. The Scriptures will be despised, and everywhere they will sing the songs of the adversary.⁶ Fornications, and adulteries, and perjuries will fill the land ; sorceries, and incantations, and divinations will follow after these with all force and zeal. And, on the whole, from among those who profess to be Christians will rise up then false prophets, false apostles, impostors, mischief-makers, evil-doers, liars against

¹ ἐξ ὁράσεως.

² Mic. iii. 5-7.

³ For τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναστροφὴν, Codex B reads διαστροφὴν καὶ φθοράν.

⁴ For ἀνυπότακτον διάθεσιν, Codex B reads ἀταξίαν = unruliness, and adds, καὶ γονεῖς τὰ τέκνα μισήσουσι, καὶ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπιβάλλονται χεῖρας, “and parents shall hate their children, and children lay hands on their parents.”

⁵ For εἰς τοὺς δούλους ἀπάνθρωποι αὐθεντήσονται, Codex B reads, πρὸς τοὺς δούλους ἀπανθρωπίαν κτήσονται.

⁶ For ἐχθροῦ, Codex B reads διαβόλου, the devil.

each other, adulterers, fornicators, robbers, grasping, perjured, mendacious, hating each other. The shepherds will be like wolves; the priests will embrace falsehood; the monks¹ will lust after the things of the world; the rich will assume hardness of heart; the rulers will not help the poor; the powerful will cast off all pity; the judges will remove justice from the just, and, blinded with bribes, they will call in unrighteousness.

VIII.

And what am I to say with respect to men,² when the very elements themselves will disown their order? There will be earthquakes in every city, and plagues in every country; and monstrous³ thunderings and frightful lightnings will burn up both houses and fields. Storms of winds will disturb both sea and land excessively; and there will be unfruitfulness on the earth, and a roaring in the sea, and an intolerable agitation on account of souls and the destruction of men.⁴ There will be signs in the sun, and signs in the moon, deflections in the stars, distresses of nations, intemperateness in the atmosphere, discharges of hail upon the face of the earth, winters of excessive severity, different⁵ frosts, inexorable scorching winds, unexpected thunderings, unlooked-for conflagrations; and in general, lamentation and mourning in the whole earth, without consolation. For, "because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold."⁶ By reason of the agitation and confusion of all these, the Lord of the universe cries in the Gospel, saying, "Take heed that ye be not deceived; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am

¹ This does not agree with the age of Hippolytus.

² *περὶ ἀνθρώπων*, which is the reading of Codex B, instead of *ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων*.

³ *ἄμετροι*, the reading of Codex B instead of *ἄνεμοι*.

⁴ The text is, *ἀπὸ ψυχῶν καὶ ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων*. We may suggest some such correction as *ἀποψυχόντων κατ' ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων* = "men's hearts failing them concerning the destruction."

⁵ *διάφοροι*. Better with B, *ἁδιάφοροι* = *promiscuous, without distinction*, and so perhaps *continuous* or *unseasonable*.

⁶ Matt. xxiv. 12.

Christ, and the timeth draweth near : go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified : for these things must first come to pass ; but the end is not yet by and by.”¹ Let us observe the Word of the Saviour, how He always admonished us with a view to our security : “Take heed that ye be not deceived : for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ.”

IX.

Now after He was taken up again to the Father, there arose some, saying, “I am Christ,” like Simon Magus and the rest, whose names we have not time at present to mention. Wherefore also in the last day of the consummation, it must needs be that false Christs will arise again, saying, “I am Christ,” and they will deceive many. And multitudes of men will run from the east even to the west, and from the north even to the sea, saying, Where is Christ here? where is Christ there? But being possessed of a vain conceit, and failing to read the Scriptures carefully, and not being of an upright mind, they will seek for a name which they shall be unable to find. For these things must first be ; and thus the son of perdition—that is to say, the devil—must be seen.

X.

And the apostles, who speak of God,² in establishing the truth of the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, have each of them indicated the appearing of these abominable and ruin-working men, and have openly announced their lawless deeds. First of all Peter, the rock of the faith, whom Christ our God called blessed, the teacher of the church, the first disciple, he who has the keys of the kingdom, has instructed us to this effect : “Know this first, children, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.”³ And there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies.”⁴ After him, John the theologian,⁵ and the beloved of Christ, in harmony with him,

¹ Luke xxi. 8, 9.² θεηγόροι. Codex B gives θεολόγοι.³ 2 Pet. iii. 3.⁴ 2 Pet. ii. 1.⁵ θεολόγος.

cries, "The children of the devil are manifest;¹ and even now are there many antichrists;² but go not after them."³ Believe not every spirit, because many false prophets are gone out into the world."⁴ And then Jude, the brother of James, speaks in like manner: "In the last times there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts. There be they who, without fear, feed⁵ themselves."⁶ You have observed the concord of the theologians and apostles, and the harmony of their doctrine.

XI.

Finally, hear Paul as he speaks boldly, and mark how clearly he discovers these: "Beware of evil workers, beware of the concision.⁷ Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit.⁸ See that ye walk circumspectly, because the days are evil."⁹ In fine, then, what man shall have any excuse who hears these things in the church from prophets and apostles, and from the Lord Himself, and yet will give no heed to the care of his soul, and to the time of the consummation, and to that approaching hour when we shall have to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ?

XII.

But being done now with this account of the consummation, we shall turn our exposition to those matters which fall to be stated by us next in order. I adduce, therefore, a witness altogether worthy of credit,—namely, the prophet Daniel, who interpreted the vision of Nabuchodonosor, and from the beginning of the kings down to their end indicated the right (unchangeable, ἀπαράτροπον) way to those who seek to walk therein—to wit, the manifestation of the truth. For

¹ 1 John iii. 10.

² 1 John ii. 18.

³ Luke xxi. 8.

⁴ 1 John iv. 1.

⁵ οἱ ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, instead of the received οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες ἑαυτούς.

⁶ Jude 18, 19.

⁷ Phil. iii. 2.

⁸ Col. ii. 8.

⁹ Eph. v. 15, 16.

what saith the prophet? He presignified the matter clearly to Nabuchodonosor in the following terms: "Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image standing before thee, whose head was of gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and thighs of brass, its legs of iron, its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hand; and it smote the image upon its feet, which were part of iron and part of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."¹

XIII.

Wherefore, bringing the visions of Daniel into conjunction with these, we shall make one narrative of the two, and show how true and consistent were the things seen in vision by the prophet with those which Nabuchodonosor saw beforehand. For the prophet speaks thus: "I Daniel saw, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lioness, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given it. And behold a second beast, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo a third beast, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; its great iron teeth and its claws of brass² devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue

¹ Dan. ii. 31-35.

² These words, *καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ*, are strange both to the Greek and the Hebrew text of Daniel.

with the feet of it: and it was diverse exceedingly from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and, behold, there came up among them a little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.”¹

XIV.

Now, since these things which are thus spoken mystically by the prophet seem to all to be hard to understand, we shall conceal none of them from those who are possessed of sound mind. By mentioning the first beast, namely the *lioness* that comes up out of the sea, Daniel means the kingdom of the Babylonians which was set up in the world; and that same is also the “golden head” of this image. And by speaking of its “wings like an eagle,” he shows that king Nabuchodonosor was elevated and exalted himself against God. Then he says that its “wings were plucked out,” and means by this that his glory was subverted: for he was driven from his kingdom. And in stating that a “man’s heart was given it, and it was made stand upon the feet like a man,” he means that he repented, and acknowledged that he was himself but a man, and gave the glory to God. Lo, I have thus unfolded the similitude of the first beast.

XV.

Then after the lioness, the prophet sees a second beast like a bear, which denoted the Persians; for after the Babylonians the Persians had the sovereignty. And in saying, “I saw three ribs in the mouth of it,” he referred to three nations, the Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were also expressed by the silver that came after the gold in the image. Behold, we have explained the second beast too. Then the third was the leopard, by which were meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander king of the Macedonians held the sovereignty, when he had destroyed Darius; and this is

¹ Dan. vii. 2-8.

expressed by the brass in the image. And in speaking of “four wings of a fowl, and four heads in the beast,” he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four parts. For it had four heads,—namely, the four kings that rose out of it. For on his death-bed¹ Alexander divided his kingdom into four parts. Behold, we have discussed the third also.

XVI.

Next he tells us of the “fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; its teeth were of iron, and its claws of brass.” And what is meant by these but the kingdom of the Romans, which also is meant by the iron, by which it will crush all the seats of empire that were before it, and will lord it over the whole earth? After this, then, what is left for us to interpret of all that the prophet saw, but the “toes of the image, in which part was of iron and part of clay, mingled together in one?” For by the ten toes of the image he meant figuratively the ten kings who sprang out of it, as Daniel also interpreted the matter. For he says, “I considered the beast, namely the fourth; and behold ten horns after it, among which another horn arose like an offshoot; and it will pluck up by the root three of those before it.” And by this offshoot horn none other is signified than the Antichrist that is to restore the kingdom of the Jews. And the three horns which are to be rooted out by it signify three kings, namely those of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he will destroy in the array of war; [and] when he has vanquished them all, being a savage tyrant, he will raise tribulation and persecution against the saints, exalting himself against them.

XVII.

You see how Daniel interpreted to Nabuchodonosor the dominion of the kingdoms; you see how he explained the form of the image in all its parts (*πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν*); you have observed how he indicated prophetically the meaning of the coming up of the four beasts out of the sea. It remains

¹ See Hippolytus on Antichrist, ch. xxiv.

that we open up to you the things done by the Antichrist in particular; and, as far as in our power, declare to you by means of the Scriptures and the prophets, his wandering over the whole earth, and his lawless advent.

XVIII.

As the Lord Jesus Christ made His sojourn with us in the flesh [which he received] from the holy, immaculate Virgin, and took to Himself the tribe of Judah, and came forth from it, the Scripture declared His royal lineage in the word of Jacob, when in his benediction he addressed himself to his son in these terms: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hands shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; from a sprout (*βλαστοῦ*), my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp (*σκύμνος*): who shall rouse him up? A ruler (*ἄρχων*) shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader (*ἡγούμενος*) from his thighs (*ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν*), until what is in store for him (*τὰ ἀποκείμενα*) shall come, and he is the expectation (*καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία*) of the nations."¹ Mark these words of Jacob which were spoken to Judah, and are fulfilled in the Lord. To the same effect, moreover, does the patriarch express himself regarding Antichrist. Wherefore, as he prophesied with respect to Judah, so did he also with respect to his son Dan. For Judah was his fourth son; and Dan, again, was his seventh son. And what, then, did he say of him? "Let Dan be a serpent sitting by the way, that biteth the horse's heel?"² And what serpent was there but the deceiver from the beginning, he who is named in Genesis, he who deceived Eve, and bruised Adam in the heel (*πτερνίσας*)?

XIX.

But seeing now that we must make proof of what is alleged at greater length, we shall not shrink from the task. For it is certain that he is destined to spring from the tribe

¹ Gen. xlix. 8-10.² Gen. xlix. 17.

of Dan,¹ and to range himself in opposition like a princely tyrant, a terrible judge and accuser (διάβολος), as the prophet testifies when he says, "Dan shall judge his people, as one tribe in Israel."² But some one may say that this was meant of Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged his people for twenty years. That, however, was only partially made good in the case of Samson; but this shall be fulfilled completely in the case of Antichrist. For Jeremiah, too, speaks in this manner: "From Dan we shall hear the sound of the sharpness³ of his horses; at the sound of the neighing (χρεμετισμοῦ) of his horses the whole land trembled."⁴ And again, Moses says: "Dan is a lion's whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan."⁵ And that no one may fall into the mistake of thinking that this is spoken of the Saviour, let him attend to this. "Dan," says he, "is a lion's whelp;" and by thus naming the tribe of Dan as the one whence the accuser is destined to spring, he made the matter in hand quite clear. For as Christ is born of the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist shall be born of the tribe of Dan. And as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was spoken of in prophecy as a *lion* on account of His royalty and glory, in the same manner also has the Scripture prophetically described the accuser as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence.

XX.

For in every respect that deceiver seeks to make himself appear like the Son of God. Christ is a lion, and Antichrist is a lion. Christ is King of things celestial and things terrestrial, and Antichrist will be king upon earth. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb; and he, too, will appear as a lamb, while he is a wolf within. The Saviour was circumcised, and he in like manner will appear in circumcision. The Saviour sent the apostles unto all the nations, and he in

¹ After Irenæus, book v. ch. xxx., many of the ancients express this opinion. See too Bellarmine, *De Pontifice Rom.* iii. 12.

² Gen. xlix. 16.

³ φωνήν ὀξύτητος. There is another reading, σπουδῆν = haste.

⁴ Jer. viii. 16.

⁵ Deut. xxxiii. 22.

like manner will send false apostles. Christ gathered together the dispersed sheep, and he in like manner will gather together the dispersed people of the Hebrews. Christ gave to those who believed on Him the honourable and life-giving cross, and he in like manner will give his own sign. Christ appeared in the form of man, and he in like manner will come forth in the form of man. Christ arose from among the Hebrews, and he will spring from among the Jews. Christ displayed His flesh like a temple, and raised it up the third day; and he too will raise up again the temple of stone in Jerusalem. And these deceits fabricated by him will become quite intelligible to those who listen to us attentively, from what shall be set forth next in order.

XXI.

For through the Scriptures we are instructed in two advents of the Christ and Saviour. And the first after the flesh was in humiliation, because He was manifested in lowly estate. So then His second advent is declared to be in glory; for He comes from heaven with power, and angels, and the glory of His Father. His first advent had John the Baptist as its forerunner; and His second, in which He is to come in glory, will exhibit Enoch, and Elias, and John the theologian.¹ Behold, too, the Lord's kindness to man; how even in the last times He shows His care for mortals, and pities them. For He will not leave us even then without prophets, but will send them to us for our instruction and assurance, and to make us give heed to the advent of the adversary, as He intimated also of old in this Daniel. For he says, "I

¹ The Apocalypse (xi. 3) mentions only two witnesses, who are understood by the ancients in general as Enoch and Elias. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 21, on Enoch, says: "This is he who, along with Elias, is to withstand Antichrist in the last days, and to confute his deceit, according to the tradition of the church." This addition as to the return of John the Evangelist is somewhat more uncommon. And yet Ephraem of Antioch, in Photius, cod. cccxix., states that this too is supported by ancient ecclesiastical tradition, Christ's saying in John xxi. 22 being understood to that effect. See also Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, ch. l.—MIGNE.

shall make a covenant of one week, and in the midst of the week my sacrifice and libation will be removed.”¹ For by one week he indicates the showing forth of the seven years which shall be in the last times. And the half of the week the two prophets, along with John, will take for the purpose of proclaiming to all the world the advent of Antichrist, that is to say, for a “thousand two hundred and sixty days clothed in sackcloth;”² and they will work signs and wonders with the object of making men ashamed and repentant, even by these means, on account of their surpassing lawlessness and impiety. “And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of the advent of Antichrist, and to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.”³ And when they have proclaimed all these things they will fall on the sword, cut off by the accuser (*παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου*). And they will fulfil their testimony, as Daniel also says; for he foresaw that the beast that came up out of the abyss would make war with them, namely with Enoch, Elias, and John, and would overcome them, and kill them, because of their refusal to give glory to the accuser. That is the little horn that sprang up.⁴ And he being lifted up in heart, begins in the end to exalt himself and glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ.

XXII.

But as, in accordance with the train of our discussion, we have been constrained to come to the matter of the days of the dominion of the adversary, it is necessary to state in the first place what concerns his nativity and growth; and then we must turn our discourse, as we have said before, to the expounding of this matter, viz. that in all respects the accuser and son of lawlessness⁵ is to make himself like our Saviour.

¹ Dan. ix. 27.² Rev. xi. 3.³ Rev. v. 6.⁴ ἀναφανέν. But Cod. B reads ἀναφνέν.⁵ ἀνομίαζ. Cod. B gives ἀπωλείαζ, perdition; and for μέλλει = is to, it reads θέλει = wishes.

Thus also the demonstration makes the matter clear to us. Since the Saviour of the world, with the purpose of saving the race of men, was born of the immaculate and virgin¹ Mary, and in the form of the flesh trod the enemy under foot, in the exercise of the power of His own proper divinity; in the same manner also will the accuser come forth from an impure woman upon the earth, but shall be born of a virgin spuriously² (ἐν πλάνῃ). For our God sojourned with us in the flesh, after that very flesh of ours which He made for Adam and all Adam's posterity, yet without sin. But the accuser, though he take up the flesh, will do it only in appearance; for how should he wear that flesh which he did not make himself, but against which he warreth daily? And it is my opinion, beloved, that he will assume this phenomenal kind of flesh³ as an instrument (organ, ὄργανον). For this reason also is he [to be] born of a virgin, as if a spirit, and then to the rest he will be manifested as flesh. For as to a virgin bearing, this we have known only in the case of the all-holy [Virgin], who bore the Saviour clothed in flesh really.⁴ For Moses says, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy unto the Lord."⁵ This is by no means the case with him (οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς); but as the adversary will not open the womb, so neither will he take to himself real flesh, and be circumcised as Christ was circumcised. And even as Christ chose His apostles, so will he too assume a whole people of disciples like himself in wickedness.

XXIII.

Above all, moreover, he will love the nation of the Jews. And with all these he will work signs and terrible wonders,

¹ Cod. B gives ἀειπαρθένου, ever-virgin.

² Cod. B reads ἀκριβῶς, exactly. Many of the ancients hold that Antichrist will be a demon in human figure. See Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, in Dialogue ii., and Philippus Dioptra, iii. 11, etc.

³ Φανταστικὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν.

⁴ Cod. B reads τὴν θεοτόκον ἔγνωμεν σαρκικῶς καὶ ἀπλανῶς, instead of the text, σαρκοφόρον ἀπλανῶς, etc.

⁵ Ex. xxxiv. 19; Num. viii. 16; Luke ii. 23.

false wonders and not true, in order to deceive his impious equals. For if it were possible, he would seduce even the elect¹ from the love of Christ. But in his first steps he will be gentle, loveable, quiet, pious, pacific, hating injustice, detesting gifts, not allowing idolatry; loving, says he, the Scriptures, reverencing priests, honouring his elders, repudiating fornication, detesting adultery, giving no heed to slanders, not admitting oaths, kind to strangers, kind to the poor, compassionate. And then he will work wonders, cleansing lepers, raising paralytics, expelling demons, proclaiming things remote just as things present, raising the dead, helping widows, defending orphans, loving all, reconciling in love men who contend, and saying to such, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath;"² and he will not acquire gold, nor love silver, nor seek riches.

XXIV.

And all this he will do corruptly and deceitfully, and with the purpose of deluding all to make him king. For when the peoples and tribes see so great virtues and so great powers in him, they will all with one mind meet together to make him king. And above all others shall the nation of the Hebrews be dear to the tyrant himself, while they say one to another, Is there found indeed in our generation such a man, so good and just? That shall be the way with the race of the Jews pre-eminently, as I said before, who, thinking, as they do, that they shall behold the king himself in such power, will approach him to say, We all confide in thee, and acknowledge thee to be just upon the whole earth; we all hope to be saved by thee; and by thy mouth we have received just and incorruptible judgment.

XXV.

And at first, indeed, that deceitful and lawless one, with crafty deceitfulness, will refuse such glory; but the men persisting, and holding by him, will declare him king. And thereafter he will be lifted up in heart, and he who was formerly

¹ Matt. xxiv. 24.

² Eph. iv. 26.

gentle will become violent, and he who pursued love will become pitiless, and the humble in heart will become haughty and inhuman, and the hater of unrighteousness will persecute the righteous. Then, when he is elevated to his kingdom, he will marshal war; and in his wrath he will smite three mighty kings,—those, namely, of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. And after that he will build the temple in Jerusalem, and will restore it again speedily, and give it over to the Jews. And then he will be lifted up in heart against every man; yea, he will speak blasphemy also against God, thinking in his deceit that he shall be king upon the earth hereafter for ever; not knowing, miserable wretch, that his kingdom is to be quickly brought to naught, and that he will quickly have to meet the fire which is prepared for him, along with all who trust him and serve him. For when Daniel said, “I shall make my covenant for one week,”¹ he indicated seven years; and the one half of the week is for the preaching of the prophets, and for the other half of the week—that is to say, for three years and a half—Antichrist will reign upon the earth. And after this his kingdom and his glory shall be taken away. Behold, ye who love God, what manner of tribulation there shall rise in those days, such as has not been from the foundation of the world, no, nor ever shall be, except in those days alone. Then the lawless one, being lifted up in heart, will gather together his demons in man’s form, and will abominate those who call him to the kingdom, and will pollute many souls.

XXVI.

For he will appoint princes over them from among the demons. And he will no longer seem to be pious, but altogether and in all things he will be harsh, severe, passionate, wrathful, terrible, inconstant, dread, morose, hateful, abominable, savage, vengeful, iniquitous. And, bent on casting the whole race of men into the pit of perdition, he will multiply false signs. For when all the people greet him with their acclamations at his displays, he will shout with a strong voice, so

¹ Dan. ix. 27.

that the place shall be shaken in which the multitudes stand by him : “ Ye peoples, and tribes, and nations, acquaint yourselves with my mighty authority and power, and the strength of my kingdom. What prince is there so great as I am ? What great God is there but I ? Who will stand up against my authority ? ” Under the eye of the spectators he will remove mountains from their places, he will walk on the sea with dry feet, he will bring down fire from heaven, he will turn the day into darkness and the night into day, he will turn the sun about wheresoever he pleases ; and, in short, in presence of those who behold him, he will show all the elements of earth and sea to be subject to him in the power of his specious manifestation. For if, while as yet he does not exhibit himself as the son of perdition, he raises and excites against us open war even to battles and slaughters, at that time when he shall come in his own proper person, and men shall see him as he is in reality, what machinations and deceits and delusions will he not bring into play, with the purpose of seducing all men, and leading them off from the way of truth, and from the gate of the kingdom ?

XXVII.

Then, after all these things, the heavens will not give their dew, the clouds will not give their rain, the earth will refuse to yield its fruits, the sea shall be filled with stench, the rivers shall be dried up, the fish of the sea shall die, men shall perish of hunger and thirst ; and father embracing son, and mother embracing daughter, will die together, and there will be none to bury them. But the whole earth will be filled with the stench arising from the dead bodies cast forth. And the sea, not receiving the floods of the rivers, will become like mire, and will be filled with an unlimited smell and stench. Then there will be a mighty pestilence upon the whole earth, and then, too, inconsolable lamentation, and measureless weeping, and unceasing mourning. Then men will deem those happy who are dead before them, and will say to them, “ Open your sepulchres, and take us miserable beings

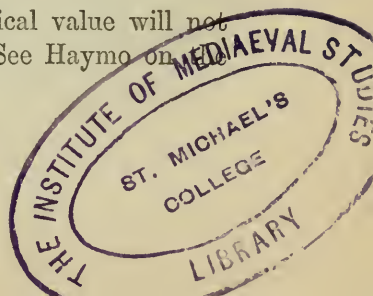
in ; open your receptacles for the reception of your wretched kinsmen and acquaintances. Happy are ye, in that ye have not seen our days. Happy are ye, in that ye have not had to witness this painful life of ours, nor this irremediable pestilence, nor these straits that possess our souls."

XXVIII.

Then that abominable one will send his commands throughout every government by the hand at once of demons and of visible men, who shall say, "A mighty king has arisen upon the earth ; come ye all to worship him ; come ye all to see the strength of his kingdom : for, behold, he will give you corn ; and he will bestow upon you wine, and great riches, and lofty honours. For the whole earth and sea obeys his command. Come ye all to him." And by reason of the scarcity of food, all will go to him and worship him ; and he will put his mark on their right hand and on their forehead, that no one may put the sign of the honourable cross upon his forehead with his right hand ; but his hand is bound. And from that time he shall not have power to seal any one of his members, but he shall be attached to the deceiver, and shall serve him ; and in him there is no repentance. But such an one is lost at once to God and to men, and the deceiver will give them scanty food by reason of his abominable seal. And his seal upon the forehead and upon the right hand is the number, "Six hundred three score and six."¹ And I have an opinion as to this number, though I do not know the matter for certain ; for many names have been found in this number when it is expressed in writing (ἐν τῇ γραφῇ). Still we say that perhaps the scription of this same seal will give us the word *I deny* (ἀρνοῦμαι²). For even in recent days, by means of his ministers—that is to say, the idolaters—that bitter adversary took up the word *deny*, when the lawless

¹ Rev. xiii. 18.

² The letters of the word ἀρνοῦμαι in their numerical value will not give the number 666 unless it is written ἀρνοῦμε. See Haymo on the Apocalypse, book iv.



pressed upon the witnesses of Christ, with the adjuration, "Deny thy God, the crucified One."¹

XXIX.

Of such kind, in the time of that hater of all good, will be the seal, the tenor of which will be this: I deny the Maker of heaven and earth, I deny the baptism, I deny my (former) service, and attach myself to thee, and I believe in thee. For this is what the prophets Enoch and Elias will preach: Believe not the enemy who is to come and be seen; for he is an adversary² and corrupter and son of perdition, and deceives you;³ and for this reason he will kill you, and smite them with the sword. Behold the deceit of the enemy, know the machinations of the beguiler, how he seeks to darken the mind of men utterly. For he will show forth his demons brilliant like angels, and he will bring in hosts of the incorporeal without number. And in the presence of all he exhibits himself as taken up into heaven with trumpets and sounds, and the mighty shouting of those who hail him with indescribable hymns; the heir of darkness himself shining like light, and at one time soaring to the heavens, and at another descending to the earth with great glory, and again charging the demons, like angels, to execute his behests with much fear and trembling. Then will he send the cohorts of the demons among mountains and caves and dens of the earth, to track out those who have been concealed from his eyes, and to bring them forward to worship him. And those who yield to him he will seal with his seal; but those who refuse to submit to him he will consume with incomparable pains and bitterest torments and machinations, such as never have been, nor have reached the ear of man, nor have been seen by the eye of mortals.

¹ The text is in confusion: ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρῶην διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀντιδίκος ἐχθρὸς, ἢ γοῦν τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν, τοῖς μάρτυσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ προέ-
τρεπον οἱ ἄνομοι, etc.

² ἀντιδίκος. In B, πλάνος = deceiver.

³ B reads τὸν κόσμον, the world.

XXX.

Blessed shall they be who overcome the tyrant then. For they shall be set forth as more illustrious and loftier than the first witnesses; for the former witnesses overcame his minions only, but these overthrow and conquer the accuser himself, the son of perdition. With what eulogies and crowns, therefore, will they not be adorned by our King, Jesus Christ!

XXXI.

But let us revert to the matter in hand. When men have received the seal, then, and find neither food nor water, they [will] approach him with a voice of anguish, saying, Give us to eat and drink, for we all faint with hunger and all manner of straits;¹ and bid the heavens yield us water, and drive off from us the beasts that devour men. Then will that crafty one make answer, mocking them with absolute inhumanity, and saying, The heavens refuse to give rain, the earth yields not again its fruits; whence then can I give you food? Then, on hearing the words of this deceiver, these miserable men will perceive that this is the wicked accuser, and will mourn in anguish, and weep vehemently, and beat their face with their hands, and tear their hair, and lacerate their cheeks with their nails, while they say to each other: Woe for the calamity! woe for the bitter contract! woe for the deceitful covenant! woe for the mighty mischance! How have we been beguiled by the deceiver! how have we been joined to him! how have we been caught in his toils! how have we been taken in his abominable net! how have we heard the Scriptures, and understood them not! For truly those who are engrossed with the affairs of life, and with the lust of this world, will be easily brought over to the accuser then, and sealed by him.

XXXII.

But many who are hearers of the divine Scriptures, and have them in their hand, and keep them in mind with under-

¹ B reads *ὁδύνης*, pain.

standing, will escape his imposture. For they will see clearly through his insidious appearance and his deceitful imposture, and will flee from his hands, and betake themselves to the mountains, and hide themselves in the caves of the earth; and they will seek after the Friend of man with tears and a contrite heart; and He will deliver them out of his toils, and with His right hand He will save those from his snares who in a worthy and righteous manner make their supplication to Him.

XXXIII.

You see in what manner of fasting and prayer the saints will exercise themselves at that time. Observe, also, how hard the season and the times will be that are to come upon those in city and country alike. At that time they will be brought from the east even unto the west; and they will come up from the west even unto the east, and will weep greatly and wail vehemently. And when the day begins to dawn they will long for the night, in order that they may find rest from their labours; and when the night descends upon them, by reason of the continuous earthquakes and the tempests in the air, they will desire even to behold the light of the day, and will seek how they may hereafter meet a bitter death. At that time the whole earth will bewail the life of anguish, and the sea and air in like manner will bewail it; and the sun, too, will wail; and the wild beasts, together with the fowls, will wail: mountains and hills, and the trees of the plain, will wail on account of the race of man, because all have turned aside from the holy God, and obeyed the deceiver, and received the mark of that abominable one, the enemy of God, instead of the quickening cross of the Saviour.

XXXIV.

And the churches, too, will wail with a mighty lamentation, because neither oblation nor incense is attended to, nor a service acceptable to God; but the sanctuaries of the churches will become like a garden-watcher's hut, and the holy body and blood of Christ will not be shown in those

days. The public service of God shall be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, the reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard; but for men there shall be darkness, and lamentation on lamentation, and woe on woe. At that time silver and gold shall be cast out in the streets, and none shall gather them; but all things shall be held an offence. For all shall be eager to escape and to hide themselves, and they shall not be able anywhere to find concealment from the woes¹ of the adversary; but as they carry his mark about them, they shall be readily recognised and declared to be his. Without there shall be fear, and within trembling, both by night and by day. In the street and in the houses there shall be the dead; in the streets and in the houses there shall be hunger and thirst; in the streets there shall be tumults, and in the houses lamentations. And beauty of countenance shall be withered, for their forms shall be like those of the dead; and the beauty of women shall fade, and the desire of all men shall vanish.

XXXV.

Notwithstanding, not even then will the merciful and benignant God leave the race of men without all comfort; but He will shorten even those days and the period of three years and a half, and He will curtail those times on account of the remnant of those who hide themselves in the mountains and caves, that the phalanx of all those saints fail not utterly. But these days shall run their course rapidly; and the kingdom of the deceiver and Antichrist shall be speedily removed. And then, in fine, in the glance of an eye shall the fashion of this world pass away, and the power of men² shall be brought to naught, and all these visible things shall be destroyed.

XXXVI.

As these things, therefore, of which we have spoken before are in the future, beloved, when the one week is divided into parts, and the abomination of desolation has arisen then, and the forerunners of the Lord have finished their proper course, and the whole world, in fine, comes to the consumma-

¹ παθῶν. B reads παγίδων, snares.

² B reads δαιμόνων, demons.

tion, what remains but the manifestation (ἐπιφάνεια) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, from heaven, for whom we have hoped; who shall bring forth fire and all just judgment against those who have refused to believe in Him? For the Lord says, "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be; for wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together."¹ For the sign of the cross² shall arise from the east even unto the west, in brightness exceeding that of the sun, and shall announce the advent and manifestation of the Judge, to give to every one according to his works. For concerning the general resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel says: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."³ And Isaiah says: "The dead shall rise, and those in the tombs shall awake, and those in the earth shall rejoice."⁴ And our Lord says: "Many⁵ in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."⁶

XXXVII.

For at that time the trumpet shall sound,⁷ and awake those that sleep from the lowest parts of the earth, righteous and sinners alike. And every kindred, and tongue, and nation, and tribe shall be raised in the twinkling of an eye;⁸ and they shall stand upon the face of the earth, waiting for the coming of the righteous and terrible Judge, in fear and trembling unutterable. For the river of fire shall come forth in fury like an angry sea, and shall burn up mountains and hills, and shall make the sea vanish, and shall dissolve the atmosphere with its heat like wax.⁹ The stars of heaven shall fall,¹⁰ the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the

¹ Matt. xxiv. 27, 28.² See Jo. Voss, *Theses Theolog.* p. 228.³ Dan. xii. 2.⁴ Isa. xxvi. 19.⁵ πολλοί, for the received οἱ νεκροί.⁶ John v. 25.⁷ 1 Thess. iv. 16.⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 52.⁹ 2 Pet. iii. 12.¹⁰ Matt. xxiv. 29

moon into blood.¹ The heaven shall be rolled together like a scroll:² the whole earth shall be burnt up by reason of the deeds done in it, which men did corruptly,³ in fornications, in adulteries, and in lies and uncleanness, and in idolatries, and in murders, and in battles. For there shall be the new heaven and the new earth.⁴

XXXVIII.

Then shall the holy angels run on their commission to gather together all the nations, whom that terrible voice of the trumpet shall awake out of sleep. And before the judgment-seat of Christ shall stand those who once were kings and rulers, chief priests and priests; and they shall give an account of their administration, and of the fold, whoever of them through their negligence have lost one sheep out of the flock. And then shall be brought forward soldiers who were not content with their provision,⁵ but oppressed widows and orphans and beggars. Then shall be arraigned the collectors of tribute, who despoil the poor man of more than is ordered, and who make real gold like adulterate, in order to mulct the needy, in fields and in houses and in the churches. Then shall rise up the lewd with shame, who have not kept their bed undefiled, but have been ensnared by all manner of fleshly beauty, and have gone in the way of their own lusts. Then shall rise up those who have not kept the love of the Lord, mute and gloomy, because they contemned the light commandment of the Saviour, which says, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Then they, too, shall weep who have possessed the unjust balance, and unjust weights and measures, and dry measures, as they wait for the righteous Judge.

XXXIX.

And why should we add many words concerning those who are sisted before the bar? Then the righteous shall shine

¹ Acts ii. 20.

² Rev. vi. 14.

³ *διέφθιραν*. B reads *ἐκράξαν*, did.

⁴ Rev. xxi. 1.

⁵ Luke iii. 14.

forth like the sun, while the wicked shall be shown to be mute and gloomy. For both the righteous and the wicked shall be raised incorruptible: the righteous, to be honoured eternally, and to taste immortal joys; and the wicked, to be punished in judgment eternally. Each ponders¹ the question as to what answer he shall give to the righteous Judge for his deeds, whether good or bad. With all men each one's actions shall environ him, whether he be good or evil. For the powers of the heavens shall be shaken,² and fear and trembling shall consume all things, both heaven and earth and things under the earth. And every tongue shall confess Him openly,³ and shall confess Him who comes to judge righteous judgment, the mighty God and Maker of all things. Then with fear and astonishment shall come angels, thrones, powers, principalities, dominions,⁴ and the cherubim and seraphim with their many eyes and six wings, all crying aloud with a mighty voice, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, omnipotent; the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory."⁵ And the King of kings and Lord of lords, the Judge who accepts no man's person, and the Jurist who distributes justice to every man, shall be revealed upon His dread and lofty throne; and all the flesh of mortals shall see His face with great fear and trembling, both the righteous and the sinner.

XL.

Then shall the son of perdition be brought forward, to wit the accuser, with his demons and with his servants, by angels stern and inexorable. And they shall be given over to the fire that is never quenched, and to the worm that never sleepeth, and to the outer darkness. For the people of the Hebrews shall see Him in human form, as He appeared to them [when He came] by the holy Virgin in the flesh, and as they crucified Him. And He will show them the [prints of the] nails in His hands and feet, and His side pierced with the spear, and His head crowned with thorns,

¹ The text gives ἐνθυμηθεῖ τε, for which B reads ἐνθυμεῖται.

² Matt. xxiv. 29.

³ Phil. ii. 11.

⁴ Col. i. 16.

⁵ Isa. vi. 3.

and His honourable cross. And once for all shall the people of the Hebrews see all these things, and they shall mourn and weep, as the prophet exclaims, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced;"¹ and there shall be none to help them or to pity them, because they repented not, neither turned aside from the wicked way. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment with the demons and the accuser.

XLI.

Then He shall gather together all nations, as the holy Gospel so strikingly declares. For what says Matthew the evangelist, or rather the Lord Himself, in the Gospel? "When the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."² Come, ye prophets, who were cast out for my name's sake. Come, ye patriarchs, who before my advent were obedient to me, and longed for my kingdom. Come, ye apostles, who were my fellows in my sufferings in my incarnation, [and suffered with me] in the Gospel. Come, ye martyrs, who confessed me before despots, and endured many torments and pains. Come, ye hierarchs, who did me sacred service blamelessly day and night, and made the oblation of my honourable body and blood daily.

XLII.

Come, ye saints, who disciplined yourselves in mountains and caves and dens of the earth, who honoured my name by continence and prayer and virginity. Come, ye maidens, who desired my bride-chamber, and loved no other bridegroom than me, who by your testimony and habit of life were wedded to me, the immortal and incorruptible Bride-

¹ Zech. xii, 10; John xix. 37.

² Matt. xxv. 31-34.

groom. Come, ye friends of the poor and the stranger. Come, ye who kept my love, as I am love. Come, ye who possess peace, for I own that peace. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, ye who esteemed not riches, ye who had compassion on the poor, who aided the orphans, who helped the widows, who gave drink to the thirsty, who fed the hungry, who received strangers, who clothed the naked, who visited the sick, who comforted those in prison, who helped the blind, who kept the seal of the faith inviolate, who assembled yourselves together in the churches, who listened to my Scriptures, who longed for my words, who observed my law day and night, who endured hardness with me like good soldiers, seeking to please me, your heavenly King. Come, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Behold, my kingdom is made ready; behold, paradise is opened; behold, my immortality is shown in its beauty (*κεκαλλώπισται*). Come all, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

XLIII.

Then shall the righteous answer, astonished at the mighty and wondrous fact that He, whom the hosts of angels cannot look upon openly, addresses them as friends, and shall cry out to Him, Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, and fed Thee? Master (*δέσποτα*), when saw we Thee thirsty, and gave Thee drink? Thou Terrible One (*φοβερέ*), when saw we Thee naked, and clothed Thee? Immortal (*ἀθάνατε*), when saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? Thou Friend of man (*φιλόανθρώπε*), when saw we Thee sick or in prison, and came unto Thee?¹ Thou art the ever-living One. Thou art without beginning, like the Father (*συνάναρχος*), and co-eternal with the Spirit. Thou art He who made all things out of nothing. Thou art the prince of the angels. Thou art He at whom the depths tremble.² Thou art He who is covered with light as with a garment.³ Thou art He who made us, and fashioned us of earth. Thou art He who

¹ Matt. xxv. 37, etc.

² 4 Esdr. iii. 8.

³ Ps. civ. 2.

formed (*δημιουργήσας*) things invisible.¹ From Thy presence the whole earth fleeth away,² and how have we received hospitably Thy kingly power and lordship?

XLIV.

Then shall the King of kings make answer again, and say to them, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Inasmuch as ye have received those of whom I have already spoken to you, and clothed them, and fed them, and gave them to drink, I mean the poor who are my members, ye have done it unto me. But come ye into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; enjoy for ever and ever that which is given you by my Father in heaven, and the holy and quickening Spirit. And what mouth then will be able to tell out those blessings which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him?³

XLV.

Ye have heard of the ceaseless joy, ye have heard of the immoveable kingdom, ye have heard of the feast of blessings without end. Learn now, then, also the address of anguish with which the just Judge and the benignant God shall speak to those on the left hand in unmeasured anger and wrath, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Ye have prepared these things for yourselves; take to yourselves also the enjoyment of them. Depart from me, ye cursed, into the outer darkness, and into the unquenchable fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. I made you, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who brought you forth from your mother's womb, and ye rejected me. I am He who fashioned you of earth by my word of command, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who nurtured you, and ye served another. I ordained the earth and the sea for your maintenance and the

¹ Col. i. 16.² Rev. xx. 11.³ Isa. lxiv. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

bound (*συμπέρασμα*) of your life, and ye listened not to my commandments. I made the light for you, that ye might enjoy the day, and the night also, that ye might have rest; and ye vexed me, and set me at naught with your wicked words, and opened the door to the passions. Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity. I know you not, I recognise you not: ye made yourselves the workmen of another lord—namely, the devil. With him inherit ye the darkness, and the fire that is not quenched, and the worm that sleepeth not, and the gnashing of teeth.

XLVI.

For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and ye visited me not: I was in prison, and ye came not unto me. I made your ears that ye might hear the Scriptures; and ye prepared them for the songs of demons, and lyres, and jesting. I made your eyes that you might see the light of my commandments, and keep them; and ye called in fornication and wantonness, and opened them to all other manner of uncleanness. I prepared your mouth for the utterance of adoration, and praise, and psalms, and spiritual odes, and for the exercise of continuous reading; and ye fitted it to railing, and swearing, and blasphemies, while ye sat and spake evil of your neighbours. I made your hands that ye might stretch them forth in prayers and supplications, and ye put them forth to robberies, and murders, and the killing of each other. I ordained your feet to walk in the preparation of the Gospel of peace, both in the churches and the houses of my saints; and ye taught them to run to adulteries, and fornications, and theatres, and dancings, and elevations (*tossings, μετεωρισμούς*).

XLVII.

At last the assembly is dissolved, the spectacle of this life ceaseth: its deceit and its semblance are passed away. Cleave to me, to whom every knee boweth, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. For all who

have been negligent, and have not shown pity in well-doing there, have nothing else due them than the unquenchable fire. For I am the friend of man, but yet also a righteous Judge to all. For I shall award the recompense according to desert; I shall give the reward to all, according to each man's labour; I shall make return to all, according to each man's conflict. I wish to have pity, but I see no oil in your vessels. I desire to have mercy, but ye have passed through life entirely without mercy. I long to have compassion, but your lamps are dark by reason of your hardness of heart. Depart from me. For judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy.¹

XLVIII.

Then shall they also make answer to the dread Judge, who accepteth no man's person: Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and ministered not unto Thee? Lord, dost Thou know us not? Thou didst form us, Thou didst fashion us, Thou didst make us of four elements, Thou didst give us spirit and soul. On Thee we believed; Thy seal we received, Thy baptism we obtained; we acknowledged Thee to be God, we knew Thee to be Creator; in Thee we wrought signs, through Thee we cast out demons, for Thee we mortified the flesh, for Thee we preserved virginity, for Thee we practised chastity, for Thee we became strangers on the earth; and Thou sayest, I know you not, depart from me! Then shall He make answer to them, and say, Ye acknowledged me as Lord, but ye kept not my words. Ye were marked with the seal of my cross, but ye deleted it by your hardness of heart. Ye obtained my baptism, but ye observed not my commandments. Ye subdued your body to virginity, but ye kept not mercy, but ye did not cast the hatred of your brother out of your souls. For not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth my will.² And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.³

¹ Jas. ii. 13.² Matt. vii. 23.³ Matt. xxv. 46.

XLIX.

Ye have heard, beloved, the answer of the Lord; ye have learned the sentence of the Judge; ye have been given to understand what kind of awful scrutiny awaits us, and what day and what hour are before us. Let us therefore ponder this every day; let us meditate on this both day and night, both in the house, and by the way, and in the churches, that we may not stand forth at that dread and impartial judgment condemned, abased, and sad, but with purity of action, life, conversation, and confession; so that to us also the merciful and benignant God may say, "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace;"¹ and again, "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."² Which joy may it be ours to reach, by the grace and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom pertain glory, honour, and adoration, with His Father, who is without beginning, and His holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life" (Apoc. ii.).

HIPPOLYTUS ON THE TWELVE APOSTLES:

WHERE EACH OF THEM PREACHED, AND WHERE HE MET HIS END.

Peter preached the gospel in Pontus, and Galatia, and Cappadocia, and Betania, and Italy, and Asia, and was afterwards crucified by Nero in Rome with his head downward, as he had himself desired to suffer in that manner.

Andrew preached to the Scythians and Thracians, and was crucified, suspended on an olive tree, at Patræ, [a town] of Achaia; and there too he was buried.

John, again, in Asia, was banished by Domitian the king to the isle of Patmos, in which also he wrote his Gospel and

¹ Luke vii. 50.

² Matt. xxv. 23.

saw the apocalyptic vision ; and in Trajan's time he fell asleep at Ephesus, where his remains were sought for, but could not be found.

James, his brother, when preaching in Judea, was cut off with the sword by Herod the tetrarch, and was buried there.

Philip preached in Phrygia, and was crucified in Hierapolis with his head downward in the time of Domitian, and was buried there.

Bartholomew, again, [preached] to the Indians, to whom also he gave the Gospel according to Matthew, [and] was crucified with his head downward, and was buried in Allatum (or Albanum), [a town] of the great Armenia.

And Matthew wrote the Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, and published it at Jerusalem, and fell asleep at Hieres, [a town] of Parthia.

And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Margians,¹ and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear² at Calamene,³ the city of India, and was buried there.

And James the son of Alphæus, when preaching in Jerusalem, was stoned to death by the Jews, and was buried there beside the temple.

Judas, who is also [called] Lebbæus, preached to the people of Edessa (*Αἰδεσινούσις*), and to all Mesopotamia, and fell asleep at Berytus, and was buried there.

Simon the Zealot (*ὁ Κανανίτης*), the son of Clopas, who is also [called] Judas, became bishop of Jerusalem after James the Just, and fell asleep and was buried there at the age of 120 years.

And Matthias, who was one of the seventy, was numbered along with the eleven apostles, and preached in Jerusalem, and fell asleep and was buried there.

And Paul entered into the apostleship a year after the assumption of Christ ; and beginning at Jerusalem, he advanced as far as Illyricum, and Italy, and Spain, preaching

¹ *Μάργοις*. Combefisius proposes *Μάρδοις*. Jerome has "Magis."

² The text is *ἐλακῆδη ἐλογχιάσθη*, *ἐλακῆδη* being probably for *ἐλάτῃ*.

³ *Καλαμένη*. Steph. le Moine reads *Καραμένη*.

the gospel for five-and-thirty years. And in the time of Nero he was beheaded at Rome, and was buried there.

THE SAME HIPPOLYTUS ON THE SEVENTY APOSTLES.

In the Codex Baroccian. 206.

[This is found also, along with the former piece, *On the Twelve Apostles*, in two codices of the Coislinian or Seguerian Library, as Montfaucon states in his recension of the Greek manuscripts of that library. He mentions also a third codex of Hippolytus, *On the Twelve Apostles*.]

1. James the Lord's brother (ἀδελφός θεός), bishop of Jerusalem.
2. Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem.
3. Matthias, who supplied the vacant place in the number of the twelve apostles.
4. Thaddeus, who conveyed the epistle to Augarus.
5. Ananias, who baptized Paul, [and was] bishop of Damascus.
6. Stephen, the first martyr.
7. Philip, who baptized the eunuch.
8. Prochorus, bishop of Nicomedia, who also was the first that departed (ἐξελθών), believing together with his daughters.
9. Nicanor died when Stephen was martyred.
10. Timon, bishop of Bostra.
11. Parmenas, bishop of Soli.
12. Nicolaus, bishop of Samaria.
- ✓ 13. Barnabas, bishop of Milan.
- ✓ 14. Mark the evangelist, bishop of Alexandria.
15. Luke the evangelist.

These two belonged to the seventy disciples who were scattered¹ by the offence of the word which Christ spake, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my

¹ The text is, οὗτοι οἱ β' τῶν ὁ τυγχάνοντων διασκορπισθέντων. It may be meant for, "these two of the seventy were scattered," etc.

blood, he is not worthy of me.”¹ But the one being induced to return to the Lord by Peter’s instrumentality, and the other by Paul’s, they were honoured to preach that gospel² on account of which they also suffered martyrdom, the one being burned, and the other being crucified on an olive tree.

16. Silas, bishop of Corinth.
17. Silvanus, bishop of Thessalonica.
18. Crisces (Crescens), bishop of Carchedon in Gaul.
19. Epænetus, bishop of Carthage.
20. Andronicus, bishop of Pannonia.
21. Amplias, bishop of Odyssus.
22. Urban, bishop of Macedonia.
23. Stachys, bishop of Byzantium
24. Barnabas, bishop of Heraclea.
25. Phygellus, bishop of Ephesus. He was of the party also of Simon [Magus].
26. Hermogenes. He, too, was of the same mind with the former.
27. Demas, who also became a priest of idols.
28. Apelles, bishop of Smyrna.
29. Aristobulus, bishop of Britain.
30. Narcissus, bishop of Athens.
31. Herodion, bishop of Tarsus.
32. Agabus the prophet.
33. Rufus, bishop of Thebes.
34. Asyncritus, bishop of Hyrcania.
35. Phlegon, bishop of Marathon.
36. Hermes, bishop of Dalmatia.
37. Patrobulus,³ bishop of Puteoli.
38. Hermas, bishop of Philippi.
39. Linus, bishop of Rome.
40. Caius, bishop of Ephesus.
41. Philologus, bishop of Sinope.

¹ John vi. 53, 66.

² εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, perhaps = *write* of that gospel, as the Latin version puts it.

³ Rom. xvi. 14, Πατρόβας.

- 42, 43. Olympus and Rhodion were martyred in Rome.
44. Lucius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria.
45. Jason, bishop of Tarsus.
46. Sosipater, bishop of Iconium.
47. Tertius, bishop of Iconium.
48. Erastus, bishop of Panellas.
49. Quartus, bishop of Berytus. ✧
50. Apollo, bishop of Cæsarea.
51. Cephas. (In the manuscript there is a lacuna here.)
52. Sosthenes, bishop of Colophonia.
53. Tychicus, bishop of Colophonia.
54. Epaphroditus, bishop of Andriace.
55. Cæsar, bishop of Dyrrachium.
56. Mark, cousin to Barnabas, bishop of Apollonia.
57. Justus, bishop of Eleutheropolis.
58. Artemas, bishop of Lystra.
59. Clement, bishop of Sardinia.
60. Onesiphorus, bishop of Corone.
61. Tychicus, bishop of Chalcedon.
62. Carpus, bishop of Berytus in Thrace.
63. Evodus, bishop of Antioch.
64. Aristarchus, bishop of Apamea.
65. Mark, who is also John, bishop of Bibloupolis.
66. Zenas, bishop of Diospolis.
67. Philemon, bishop of Gaza. ✧
- 68, 69. Aristarchus and Pudes.
70. Trophimus, who was martyred along with Paul.

HEADS OF THE CANONS OF ABULIDES OR HIPPOLYTUS,
WHICH ARE USED BY THE ÆTHIOPIAN CHRISTIANS.

[These were first published in French by Jo. Michael Wanslebius in his book *De Ecclesia Alexandrina*, Paris 1677, p. 12; then in Latin, by Job Ludolfus, in his *Commentar. ad historiam Æthiopicam*, Frankfort 1691, p. 333; and by William Whiston, in vol. iii. of his *Primitive Christianity Revived*, published in English at London, 1711, p. 543. He has also noted the passages in the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, treating the same matters.]

1. Of the holy faith of Jesus Christ.¹
2. Of bishops.²
3. Of prayers spoken on the ordination of bishops, and of the order of the Mass.³
4. Of the ordination of presbyters.
5. Of the ordination of deacons.
6. Of those who suffer persecution for the faith.⁴
7. Of the election of reader and sub-deacon.⁵
8. Of the gift of healing.⁶
9. Of the presbyter who abides in a place inconvenient for his office.⁷
10. Of those who are converted to the Christian religion.
11. Of him who makes idols.⁸
12. Various pursuits (*studia*) are enumerated, the followers of which are not to be admitted to the Christian religion until repentance is exhibited.⁹
13. Of the place which the highest kings or princes shall occupy in the temple.¹⁰
14. That it is not meet for Christians to bear arms.¹¹
15. Of works which are unlawful to Christians.¹²
16. Of the Christian who marries a slave-woman.¹³

¹ *Constit. Apostol.* lib. vi. ch. 11, etc.

² Lib. vii. ch. 41.

³ Lib. vii. ch. 4, 5, 10.

⁴ Lib. viii. ch. 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 45.

⁵ Lib. viii. ch. 21, 22.

⁶ Lib. viii. ch. 1, 2.

⁷ Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

⁸ Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

⁹ Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

¹⁰ Wanting.

¹¹ Lib. viii. ch. 32.

¹² Lib. viii. ch. 32.

¹³ Lib. viii. ch. 32.

17. Of the free woman.¹
18. Of the midwife; and that the women ought to be separate from the men in prayer.²
19. Of the catechumen who suffers martyrdom before baptism.³
20. Of the fast of the fourth and sixth holiday; and of Lent.⁴
21. That presbyters should assemble daily with the people in church.⁵
22. Of the week of the Jews' passover; and of him who knows not passover (Easter).⁶
23. That every one be held to learn doctrine.⁷
24. Of the care of the bishop over the sick.⁸
25. Of him on whom the care of the sick is enjoined; and of the time at which prayers are to be made.⁹
26. Of the time at which exhortations are to be heard.¹⁰
27. Of him who frequents the temple every day.¹¹
28. That the faithful ought to eat nothing before the holy communion.¹²
29. That care is to be well taken that nothing fall from the chalice to the ground.¹³
30. Of catechumens.¹⁴
31. That a deacon may dispense the Eucharist to the people with permission of a bishop or presbyter.¹⁵
32. That widows and virgins ought to pray constantly.¹⁶
33. That commemoration should be made of the faithful dead every day, with the exception of the Lord's day.¹⁷
34. Of the sober behaviour of the secular [laymen] in church.¹⁸

¹ Lib. viii. ch. 32.³ Lib. v. ch. 6.⁵ Lib. ii. ch. 36.⁷ Lib. vii. ch. 39, 40, 41.⁹ Lib. iii. ch. 19, viii. ch. 34.¹¹ Lib. ii. ch. 59.¹³ Wanting.¹⁵ Lib. viii. ch. 28.¹⁷ Lib. iv. ch. 14, viii. ch. 41-44.² Lib. ii. ch. 57.⁴ Lib. v. ch. 13, 15.⁶ Lib. v. ch. 15, etc.⁸ Lib. iv. ch. 2.¹⁰ Lib. viii. ch. 32.¹² Wanting.¹⁴ Lib. vii. ch. 39, etc.¹⁶ Lib. iii. ch. 6, 7, 13.¹⁸ Lib. ii. ch. 57.

35. That deacons may pronounce the benediction and thanksgiving at the love-feasts when a bishop is not present.¹
36. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and of vows² (or offerings).
37. When a bishop celebrates the holy communion (Synaxis), the presbyters who stand by him should be clothed in white.³
38. That no one ought to sleep on the night of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁴

CANONS OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

WRONGLY ASCRIBED TO HIPPOLYTUS.

[*De Magistris, Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina*, Rome 1795, fol. Append. p. 478.]

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Those are the canons of the church, ordinances which Hippolytus wrote, by whom [the church] speaketh; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. Greeting from the Lord.

Canon First. Of the Catholic faith. Before all things should we speak of the faith, holy and right, regarding our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God; and we have [consequently] placed that canon in the faith (the symbol); and we agree in this with all reasonable certitude, that the Trinity is equal perfectly in honour, and equal in glory, and has neither beginning nor end. The Word [is] the Son of God, and is Himself the Creator of every creature, of things visible and invisible. This we lay down with one accord, in opposition to those who have said boldly, that it is not right [to speak] of the Word of God as our Lord Jesus Christ spake. We come together chiefly to bring out the holy truth (*ad proferendum sancte*) regarding God; and we have separated them, because

¹ Wanting.

² Lib. ii. ch. 25.

³ Lib. vii. ch. 29, viii. 30, 31.

⁴ Lib. viii. ch. 12, v. ch. 19.

they do not agree with the church in theology, nor with us the sons of the Scriptures. On this account we have sundered them from the church, and have left what concerns them to God, who will judge His creatures with justice. To those, moreover, who are not cognisant of them, we make this known without ill-will, in order that they may not rush into an evil death, like heretics, but may gain eternal life, and teach their sons and their posterity this one true faith.

Canon Second. Of bishops. A bishop should be elected by all the people, and he should be unimpeachable, as it is written of him in the apostle; in the week in which he is ordained, the whole people should also say, We desire him; and there should be silence in the whole hall, and they should all pray in his behalf, and say, O God, stablish him whom Thou hast prepared for us, etc.

Canon Third. Prayer in behalf of him who is made bishop, and the ordinance of the Mass (*ordinatio missæ*). O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, etc.

Canon Fourth. Of the ordination of a presbyter.

Canon Fifth. Of the constituting a deacon.

Canon Sixth. Of those who have suffered for the faith.

Canon Seventh. Of him who is elected reader and sub-deacon.

Canon Eighth. Of the gift of healings.

Canon Ninth. That a presbyter should not dwell in unbefitting places; and of the honour of widows.

Canon Tenth. Of those who wish to become Nazarenes (Christians).

Canon Eleventh. Of him who makes idols and images, or the artificer.

Canon Twelfth. Of the prohibition of those works, the authors of which are not to be received but on the exhibition of repentance.

Canon Thirteenth. Of a prince or a soldier, that they be not received indiscriminately.

- Canon Fourteenth. That a Nazarene may not become a soldier unless by order.
- Canon Fifteenth. Enumeration of works which are unlawful.
- Canon Sixteenth. Of him who has a lawful wife, and takes another beside her.
- Canon Seventeenth. Of a free-born woman, and her duties. Of midwives, and of the separation of men from women. Of virgins, that they should cover their faces and their heads.
- Canon Eighteenth. Of women in childbed, and of midwives again.
- Canon Nineteenth. Of catechumens, and the ordinance of Baptism and the Mass.
- Canon Twentieth. Of the fast [the six days], and of that of Lent.
- Canon Twenty-first. Of the daily assembling of priests and people in the church.
- Canon Twenty-second. Of the week of the Jews' pass-over, wherein joy shall be put away, and of what is eaten therein ; and of him who, being brought up abroad, is ignorant of the connection (*textum*, Calendar).
- Canon Twenty-third. Of doctrine, that it should be continuous (greater than the sea), and that its words ought to be fulfilled by deeds.
- Canon Twenty-fourth. Of the bishop's visitation of the sick ; and that if an infirm man has prayed in the church, and has a house, he should go to him.
- Canon Twenty-fifth. Of the procurator appointed for the sick, and of the bishop, and the times of prayer.
- Canon Twenty-sixth. Of the hearing of the word in church, and of praying in it.
- Canon Twenty-seventh. Of him who does not come to church daily,—let him read books ; and of prayer at midnight and cock-crowing, and of the washing of hands at the time of any prayer.
- Canon Twenty-eighth. That none of the believers should

taste anything, but after he has taken the sacred mysteries, especially in the days of fasting.

Canon Twenty-ninth. Of the keeping of oblations which are laid upon the altar,—that nothing fall into the sacred chalice, and that nothing fall from the priests, nor from the boys when they take communion; that an evil spirit rule them not, and that no one speak in the protection (sanctuary), except in prayer; and when the oblations of the people cease, let psalms be read with all attention, even to the signal of the bell; and of the sign of the cross, and the casting of the dust of the altar into the pool.

Canon Thirtieth. Of catechumens and the like.

Canon Thirty-first. Of the bishop and presbyter bidding the deacons present the communion.

Canon Thirty-second. Of virgins and widows, that they should pray and fast in the church. Let those who are given to the clerical order pray according to their judgment. Let not a bishop be bound to fasting but with the clergy. And on account of a feast or supper, let him prepare for the poor (and of the preparing a table for the poor).

Canon Thirty-third. Of the *Atalmsas* (the oblation), which they shall present for those who are dead, that it be not done on the Lord's day.

Canon Thirty-fourth. That no one speak much, nor make a clamour; and of the entrance of the saints into the mansions of the faithful.

Canon Thirty-fifth. Of a deacon present at a feast at which there is a presbyter present,—let him do his part in prayer and the breaking of bread for a blessing, and not for the body; and of the discharge of widows.

Canon Thirty-sixth. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and the first dedication of them; and of presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the like, which may be offered to the bishop for his blessing.

Canon Thirty-seventh. As often as a bishop takes of the sacred mysteries, let the deacons and presbyters be

gathered together, clothed in white robes, brilliant in the view of all the people; and in like manner with a reader.

Canon Thirty-eighth. Of the night on which our Lord Jesus Christ rose. That no one shall sleep on that night, and wash himself with water; and a declaration concerning such an one; and a declaration concerning him who sins after baptism, and of things lawful and unlawful.

The sacred canons of the holy patriarch Hippolytus, the first patriarch of the great city of Rome, which he composed, are ended; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. May the Lord help us to keep them. And to God be glory for ever, and on us be His mercy for ever. Amen.

FRAGMENTS.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE ZEPHYRINUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE little that is known of Zephyrinus is derived from Eusebius. That historian states that Zephyrinus succeeded Victor in the presidency of the Roman Church "about the ninth year of the reign of Severus"¹ (A.D. 201), and that he died in the first year of the reign of Antoninus² (Heliogabalus, A.D. 218). He is several times alluded to in the fragments ascribed to Caius, or in connection with them.

The two letters bearing his name are forgeries. They belong to the famous collection of False Decretals forged in the ninth century. In regard to these Decretals, Dean Milman says: "Up to this period the Decretals, the letters or edicts of the Bishops of Rome, according to the authorized or common collection of Dionysius, commenced with Pope Siricius, towards the close of the fourth century. To the collection of Dionysius was added that of the authentic councils, which bore the name of Isidore of Seville. On a sudden was promulgated, unannounced, without preparation, not absolutely unquestioned, but apparently overawing at once all doubt, a new code, which to the former authentic documents added fifty-nine letters and decrees of the twenty oldest popes from Clement to Melchiades, and the donation of Constantine; and in the third part, among the decrees of the popes and of the councils from Sylvester to Gregory II., thirty-nine false decrees, and the acts of several unauthentic councils."³

In regard to the authorship and date of the False Decretals, Dean Milman says: "The author or authors of this most

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* v. 28.

² *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 21.

³ *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 191.

audacious and elaborate of pious frauds are unknown; the date and place of its compilation are driven into such narrow limits that they may be determined within a few years, and within a very circumscribed region. The False Decretals came not from Rome; the time of their arrival at Rome, after they were known beyond the Alps, appears almost certain. In one year Nicolas I. is apparently ignorant of their existence; the next he speaks of them with full knowledge. They contain words manifestly used at the Council of Paris, A.D. 829, consequently are of later date. They were known to the Levite Benedict of Mentz, who composed a supplement to the collection of capitularies by Ansegise, between A.D. 840–847. The city of Mentz is designated with nearly equal certainty as the place in which, if not actually composed, they were first promulgated as the canon law of Christendom.”¹

THE FIRST EPISTLE.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF SICILY.

Of the Final Decision of the Trials of Bishops, and graver Ecclesiastical Cases in the Seat of the Apostles.

ZEPHYRINUS, archbishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops settled in Sicily, in the Lord, greeting.

We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, which in His own merciful regard has raised us for this purpose to the summit of priestly honour, that, abiding by His commandments, and appointed in a certain supervision of His priests, we may prohibit things unlawful, and teach those that are to be followed. As night does not extinguish the stars of heaven, so the unrighteousness of the world does not blind the minds of the faithful that hold by the sure support of Scripture. Therefore we ought to consider well and attend carefully to the Scriptures, and the divine precepts which are contained

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 193.

in these Scriptures, in order that we may show ourselves not transgressors, but fulfillers of the law of God.

Now patriarchs and primates, in investigating the case of an accused bishop, should not pronounce a final decision until, supported by the authority of the apostles, they find that the person either confesses himself guilty, or is proved so by witnesses trustworthy and regularly examined, who should not be fewer in number than were those disciples whom the Lord directed to be chosen for the help of the apostles—that is, seventy-two. Detractors also, who are to be rooted out by divine authority, and the advisers of enemies (*auctores inimicorum*), we do not admit in the indictment of bishops or in evidence against them; nor should any one of superior rank be indicted or condemned on the accusations of inferiors. Nor in a doubtful case should a decisive judgment be pronounced; nor should any trial be held valid unless it has been conducted according to order. No one, moreover, should be judged in his absence, because both divine and human laws forbid that. The accusers of those persons should also be free of all suspicion, because the Lord has chosen that His pillars should stand firm, and not be shaken by any one who will. For a sentence should not bind any of them if it is not given by their proper judge, because even the laws of the world ordain that that be done. For any accused bishop may, if it be necessary, choose twelve judges by whom his case may be justly judged. Nor should he be heard or excommunicated or judged until these be chosen by him; and on his being regularly summoned at first to a council of his own bishops, his case should be justly heard by them, and investigated on sound principles. The end of his case, however, should be remitted to the seat of the apostles, that it may be finally decided there. Nor should it be finished, as has been decreed of old by the apostles or their successors, until it is sustained by its authority. To it also all, and especially the oppressed, should appeal and have recourse as to a mother, that they may be nourished by her breasts, defended by her authority, and relieved of their oppressions, because “a mother cannot,” and should

not, "forget her son."¹ For the trials of bishops and graver ecclesiastical cases, as the apostles and their holy successors have decreed, are to be finally decided along with other bishops² by the seat of the apostles, and by no other; because, although they may be transferred to other bishops, it was yet to the blessed Apostle Peter these terms were addressed: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."³ And the other privileges which have been granted to this holy seat alone are found embodied both in the constitutions of the apostles⁴ and their successors, and in very many others in harmony with these. For the apostles have prefixed seventy⁵ decrees, together with very many other bishops, and have appointed them to be kept. For to judge rashly of the secrets of another's heart is sin; and it is unjust to reprove him on suspicion whose works seem not other than good, since God alone is Judge of those things which are unknown to men. He, however, "knoweth the secrets of the heart,"⁶ and not another. For unjust judgments are to be guarded against by all, especially however by the servants of God. "And the servant of the Lord must not strive,"⁷ nor harm any one. For bishops are to be borne by laity and clergy, and masters by servants, in order that, under the exercise of endurance, things temporal may be maintained, and things eternal hoped for. For that increases the worth of virtue, which does not violate the purpose of religion. You should be earnestly intent that none of your brothers be

¹ Isa. xlix. 15.

² The word "bishops" is omitted in MS.

³ Matt. xvi. 19.

⁴ He means the seventy-third apostolic canon, in which it is ordained that episcopal cases be not decided but by superior bishops, councils, or the Roman pontiff.

⁵ Another reading has sixty, and another fifty. Whatever be the reading, it is true that by these decrees he means the apostolic canons; and although their number was only fifty, yet, because sometimes several decrees are comprehended in one canon, there would be no inconsistency between the number of sixty or seventy apostolic decrees and the number of fifty apostolic canons (Sev. Bin.).

⁶ Ps. xliv. 21.

⁷ 2 Tim. ii. 24.

grievously injured or undone. Therefore you ought to succour the oppressed, and deliver them from the hand of their persecutors, in order that with the blessed Job you may say: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish will come upon me, and I consoled the widow's heart. I put on righteousness, and clothed myself with a robe and a diadem, my judgment. I was eye to the blind, and foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out most carefully. I brake the grinders of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth;"¹ and so forth. You, therefore, who have been placed in eminence by God, ought with all your power to check and repel those who prepare snares for brethren, or raise seditions and offences against them. For it is easy by word to deceive man, not however God. Therefore you ought to keep these off, and be on your guard against them, until such darkness is done away utterly, and the morning star shines upon them, and gladness arises, most holy brethren. Given on the 20th September, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus.²

THE SECOND EPISTLE.

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF EGYPT.

Zephyrinus, archbishop of the city of Rome, to the most beloved brethren who serve the Lord in Egypt.

So great trust have we received from the Lord, the Founder of this holy seat and of the apostolic church, and from the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, that we may labour with unwearied affection³ for the universal church which has been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and aid all who serve the Lord, and give help to all who live piously by apostolic authority. All who will live⁴ piously in Christ must

¹ Job xxix. 13-17, according to the Vulgate version.

² Or, Gallus. Saturninus and Gallus were consuls in the year 198, while Victor was yet alive.

³ Or, diligence.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 24.

needs endure reproaches from the impious and aliens, and be despised as fools and madmen, that they may be made better and purer who lose the good things of time that they may gain those of eternity. But the contempt and ridicule of those who afflict and scorn them will be cast back upon themselves, when their abundance shall change to want, and their pride to confusion.

I.

On the Spoliation or Expulsion of certain Bishops.

It has been reported at the seat of the apostles by your delegates,¹ that certain of our brethren, bishops to wit, are being expelled from their churches and seats, and deprived of their goods, and summoned, thus destitute and spoiled, to trial; a thing which is void of all reason, since the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, and the statutes of emperors, and the regulations of laws, prohibit it, and the authority of the seat of the apostles forbids it to be done. It has been ordained, indeed, in the ancient statutes, that bishops who have been ejected and spoiled of their property should recover their churches, and, in the first place, have all their property restored to them; and then, in the second place, that if any one may desire to accuse them justly, he should do so at the like risk; that the judges should be discreet, the bishops right-minded and harmonious in the church, where they should be witnesses for every one who seemed to be oppressed; and that they should not answer till all that belonged to them was restored to them, and to their churches by law without detriment. Nor is it strange, brethren, if they persecute you, when they persecuted even to death your Head, Christ our Lord. Yet even persecutions are to be endured patiently, that ye may be known to be His disciples,

¹ By these *apocrisarii* are meant the deputies of the bishops, and their *locum tenentes*, as it were, who manage the affairs of the church, hear the cases of individuals, and refer them to the bishops. They are therefore called *apocrisarii*, i.e. responders, from ἀποκρίνομαι, to respond. Mention is made of them in Justinian Novell. *Quomodo oporteat Episcopos*, chap. xii. Albericus understands by them the legates of the Pope.

for whom also ye suffer. Whence, too, he says Himself, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."¹ Sustained by these testimonies, we ought not greatly to fear the reproach of men, nor be overcome by their upbraidings, since the Lord gives us this command by Isaiah the prophet, saying, "Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, my people, in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings;"² considering what is written in the Psalm, "Shall not God search this out? for He knoweth the secrets of the heart,³ and the thoughts of such men, that they are vanity."⁴ "They spoke vanity every one with his neighbour: with deceitful lips in their heart, and with an evil heart they spoke. But the Lord shall cut off all deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things; who have said, Our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?"⁵ For if they kept these things in memory, they would by no means break forth into so great wickedness. For they do not this by laudable and paternal instruction (*probabili et paterna doctrina*), but that they may wreak their vengeful feeling against the servants of God. For it is written, "The way of a fool is right in his eyes;"⁶ and, "There are ways which seem right unto a man, but the end thereof leads to death."⁷ Now we who suffer these things ought to leave them to the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works;⁸ who also has thundered through His servants, saying, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."⁹ Assist ye, therefore, one another in good faith, and by deed and with a hearty will; nor let any one remove his hand from the help of a brother, since "by this," saith the Lord, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."¹⁰ Whence, too, He speaks by the prophet, saying, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"¹¹ In a spiritual dwelling, I interpret it, and in a concord which is in God,

¹ Matt. v. 10.² Isa. li. 7.³ Ps. xliv. 21.⁴ Ps. xciv. 11.⁵ Ps. xii. 2-4.⁶ Prov. xii. 15.⁷ Prov. xiv. 12.⁸ Matt. xvi. 27.⁹ Rom. xii. 19.¹⁰ John xiii. 35.¹¹ Ps. cxxxiii. 1.

and in the unity of the faith which distinguishes this pleasant dwelling according to truth, which indeed was more beautifully illustrated in Aaron and the priests¹ clothed with honour, as ointment upon the head, nurturing the highest understanding, and leading even to the end of wisdom. For in this dwelling the Lord has promised blessing and eternal life. Apprehending, therefore, the importance of this utterance of the prophet, we have spoken this present brotherly word for love's sake, and by no means seeking, or meaning to seek, our own things. For it is not good to repay detraction with detraction, or (according to the common proverb) to cast out a beam with a beam (*excutere palum palo*). Be it far from us. Such manners are not ours. May the God-head indeed forbid it. By the just judgment of God, power is given sometimes to sinners to persecute His saints, in order that they who are aided and borne on by the Spirit of God may become more glorious through the discipline of sufferings. But to those very persons who persecute, and reproach, and injure them, there will doubtless be woe. Woe, woe to those who injure the servants of God; for injury done to them concerns Him whose service they discharge, and whose function they execute. But we pray that a door of enclosure be placed upon their mouths, as we desire that no one perish or be defiled by their lips, and that they think or publish with their mouth no hurtful word. Whence also the Lord speaks by the prophet, "I said I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue."² May the Lord Almighty, and His only-begotten Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ, give you this incitement, that with all means in your power you aid all the brethren under whatsoever tribulations they labour, and esteem, as is meet, their sufferings your own. Afford them the utmost assistance by word and deed, that ye may be found His true disciples, who enjoined all to love the brethren as themselves.

¹ The MS. reads, "and those wearing the priestly dignity."

² Ps. xxxix. 1.

II.

On the Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons.

Ordinations of presbyters and Levites, moreover, solemnly perform on a suitable occasion, and in the presence of many witnesses; and to this duty advance tried and learned men, that ye may be greatly gladdened by their fellowship and help. Place the confidence of your hearts without ceasing on the goodness of God, and declare these and the other divine words to succeeding generations: "For this is our God for ever and ever, and He will guide us to eternity."¹ Given on the 7th November, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus.²

¹ Ps. xlviii. 14.

² Or, Gallus.

FRAGMENTS OF CAIUS,

A PRESBYTER OF ROME.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

EUSEBIUS states that Caius lived in the time of Zephyrinus.¹ He speaks of him as a member of the Catholic Church (ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ), and as being most learned. And he mentions that a dialogue of his was extant in his time, in which he argued with Proclus, the leader of the Cataphrygian heresy; and that Caius in this dialogue spoke of only thirteen epistles of the Apostle Paul, "not counting the Epistle to the Hebrews with the rest."²

Eusebius mentions no other work of Caius. He makes extracts from a work against the heresy of Artemon in the fifth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, but he states distinctly that the work was anonymous. He evidently did not know who was the author. Theodoret and Nicephorus affirm that the work from which Eusebius made these extracts bore the title of *The Little Labyrinth*. Photius has the following notice of Caius: "Read the work of Josephus on the universe, bearing in some manuscripts the inscription *On the Cause of the Universe*, and in others, *On the Substance of the Universe*. . . . But I found that this treatise is not the work of Josephus, but of one Gaius a presbyter, who lived in Rome, who they say composed *The Labyrinth* also, and whose dialogue with Proclus, the champion of the Montanistic heresy, is in circulation. . . . They say also that he composed another treatise specially directed against the heresy of Artemon."³ Photius here ascribes four works to Caius: 1. *On the Universe*; 2. *The*

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25, vi. 20.

² *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 20.

³ *Cod.* 48.

Labyrinth; 3. *The Dialogue between himself and Proclus*; 4. *The Treatise against the Heresy of Artemon*. He does not say that he read any of them but the first. This treatise is now assigned to Hippolytus. The information of Photius in regard to the other three, derived as it is from the statements of others, cannot be trusted.

The very important fragment, called *Canon Muratorius*, was discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published by him in his *Antiquitates Italicæ* in 1740. This manuscript belongs to the seventh or eighth century. Muratori ascribed it to Caius, Bunsen to Hegesippus; but there is no clue whatever to the authorship. From internal evidence the writer of the fragment is believed to belong to the latter half of the second century. The fragment has been much discussed. For a full account of it, see Westcott's *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, 2d ed. p. 184 ff., and Tregelles' *Canon Muratorianus*.

I. FROM A DIALOGUE OR DISPUTATION AGAINST PROCLUS,
A DEFENDER OF THE SECT OF THE CATAPHRYGIANS.

I.

[Preserved in Eusebius' *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 25.]



ND I can show the trophies of the apostles.¹ For if you choose to go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Road,² you will find the trophies of those who founded this church.

¹ So Jerome, in the Epistle to Marcellus, says: "There, too, is a holy church; there are the trophies of the apostles and martyrs."

² The MSS. and the *Chronicon* of Georgius Syncellus read *Vasican*, Βασιζανόν. The reference is to the Vatican as the traditional burial place of Peter, and to the Ostian Road as that of Paul.

II.

[In the same, iii. 28.]

But Cerinthus, too, through revelations written, as he would have us believe, by a great apostle, brings before us marvellous things, which he pretends were shown him by angels; alleging that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ is to be on earth, and that the flesh¹ dwelling in Jerusalem is again to be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy to the Scriptures of God, wishing to deceive men, he says that there is to be a space of a thousand years for marriage festivals.

III.

[In the same, iii. 31.]

And after this there were four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis in Asia. Their tomb is there, and that, too, of their father.²

II. FRAGMENTS OF AN ANONYMOUS WORK AGAINST THE HERESY OF ARTEMON, ASCRIBED BY SOME TO CAIUS.

I.

[In Eusebius' *Eccl. Hist.* v. 28.]

For they say that all those of the first age, and the apostles themselves, both received and taught those things which these now maintain;³ and that the truth of gospel preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. And perhaps what they

¹ *i.e.* men.

² This extract is taken from the Disputation of Caius, but the words are those of Proclus, as is shown by the citation in Eusebius.

³ Artemon and his followers maintained that Christ was mere (*ψαλόν*) man.

allege might be credible, did not the holy Scriptures, in the first place, contradict them. And then, besides, there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in defence of the truth, and against the heresies of their time: I mean Justin and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which divinity is ascribed to Christ. For who is ignorant of the books of Irenæus and Melito, and the rest, which declare Christ to be God and man? All the psalms, too, and hymns¹ of brethren, which have been written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, ascribing divinity to Him. Since the doctrine of the church, then, has been proclaimed so many years ago, how is it possible that men have preached, up to the time of Victor, in the manner asserted by these? And how are they not ashamed to utter these calumnies against Victor, knowing well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, who first affirmed that Christ was a mere man? For if, as they allege, Victor entertained the very opinions which their blasphemy teaches, how should he have cast off Theodotus, the author of this heresy?

II.

[In Eusebius, as above.]

I shall, at any rate, remind many of the brethren of an affair that took place in our own time,—an affair which, had it taken place in Sodom, might, I think, have been a warning even to them. There was a certain confessor, Natalius,² who

¹ From this it appears that it was a very ancient custom in the church to compose hymns and psalms in honour of Christ. Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, also states that the Christians were accustomed to meet together and sing hymns to Christ. Hippolytus also may be understood to refer to these hymns and psalms towards the close of his oration on the end of the world, where he says: "Your mouth I made to give glory and praise, and to utter psalms and spiritual songs." A hymn of this kind in honour of Jesus Christ, composed by Clement of Alexandria, is extant at the end of his books entitled *Pædagogici*.

² This *may*, perhaps, be the Cæcilius Natalis who appears in the

lived not in distant times, but in our own day. He was deluded once by Asclepiodotus, and another Theodotus, a banker. And these were both disciples of Theodotus the tanner, the first who was cut off from communion on account of this sentiment, or rather senselessness, by Victor, as I said, the bishop of the time. Now Natalius was persuaded by them to let himself be chosen¹ bishop of this heresy, on the understanding that he should receive from them a salary of 150 denarii a month. Connecting himself, therefore, with them, he was on many occasions admonished by the Lord in visions. For our merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that a witness of His own sufferings should perish, being without the church. But as he gave little heed to the visions, being ensnared by the dignity of presiding among them, and by that sordid lust of gain which ruins very many, he was at last scourged by holy angels, and severely beaten through a whole night, so that he rose early in the morning, and threw himself, clothed with sackcloth and covered with ashes, before Zephyrinus the bishop, with great haste and many tears, rolling beneath the feet not only of the clergy, but even of the laity, and moving the pity of the compassionate church of the merciful Christ by his weeping. And after trying many a prayer, and showing the weals left by the blows which he had received, he was at length with difficulty admitted to communion.

III.

[In Eusebius, as above.]

The sacred Scriptures they have boldly falsified, and the canons of the ancient faith they have rejected, and Christ they have ignored, not inquiring what the sacred Scriptures say, but laboriously seeking to discover what form of syllo-

Octavius of Minucius Felix, as maintaining the cause of paganism against *Octavius* Januarius, and becoming a convert to the truth through the discussion. Name, time, and profession at least suit.

¹ There is another reading—*named* (κληθῆναι) instead of *chosen* or *elected* (κληρωθῆναι).

gism might be contrived to establish their impiety. And should any one lay before them a word of divine Scripture, they examine whether it will make a connected or disjoined form of syllogism;¹ and leaving the holy Scriptures of God, they study geometry, as men who are of the earth, and speak of the earth, and are ignorant of Him who cometh from above. Euclid, indeed, is laboriously measured² by some of them, and Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired; and Galen,³ forsooth, is perhaps even worshipped by some of them. But as to those men who abuse the arts of the unbelievers to establish their own heretical doctrine, and by the craft of the impious adulterate the simple faith of the divine Scriptures, what need is there to say that these are not near the faith? For this reason is it they have boldly laid their hands upon the divine Scriptures, alleging that they have corrected them. And that I do not state this against them falsely, any one who pleases may ascertain. For if any one should choose to collect and compare all their copies together, he would find many discrepancies among them. The copies of Asclepiades,⁴ at any rate, will be found at variance with those of Theodotus. And many such copies are to be had, because their disciples were very zealous in inserting the corrections, as they call them, *i.e.* the corruptions made by each of them. And again, the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these; and as for those of Apollonius,⁵ they are not consistent even with themselves. For one may compare

¹ The *connected* form here is the *hypothetical*, as *e.g.*, "If it is day, it is light." The *disjoined* is the *disjunctive*, as *e.g.*, "It is either day or night." The words admit another rendering, *viz.*, "Whether it, when connected or disjoined, will make the form of a syllogism."

² There is a play in the original on the word *geometry*.

³ Galen composed treatises on the figures of syllogisms, and on philosophy in general. This is also a notable testimony, as proceeding from a very ancient author, almost contemporary with Galen himself. And from a great number of other writers, as well as this one, it is evident that Galen was ranked as the equal of Aristotle, Theophrastus, and even Plato.

⁴ In Nicephorus it is *Asclepiodotus*, which is also the reading of Rufinus.

⁵ It appears from Theodore (Hæret. Fab. book ii. ch. v.), as well as from Nicephorus and Rufinus, that we should read *Apollonides* for Apollonius.

those which were formerly prepared by them¹ with those which have been afterwards corrupted with a special object, and many discrepancies will be found. And as to the great audacity implied in this offence, it is not likely that even they themselves can be ignorant of that. For either they do not believe that the divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and are thus infidels; or they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they then but demoniacs? Nor can they deny that the crime is theirs, when the copies have been written with their own hand; nor² did they receive such copies of the Scriptures from those by whom they were first instructed in the faith, and they cannot produce copies from which these were transcribed. And some of them did not even think it worth while to corrupt them; but simply denying the law and the prophets for the sake of their lawless and impious doctrine, under pretext of grace, they sunk down to the lowest abyss of perdition.

III. CANON MURATORIANUS—AN ACEPHALOUS FRAGMENT ON THE CANON OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, ASCRIBED BY SOME TO CAIUS.

[In Muratori, *V. C. Antiq. Ital. Med. æv.* vol. iii. col. 854.]

1. those things at which he was present he placed thus.³ The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, the well-known physician Luke wrote in his own name⁴ in order after the ascension of Christ, and when

¹ There is another reading—*by him*.

² This paragraph, down to the word "transcribed," is wanting in the Codex Regius.

³ The text is, "quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit." Westcott omits the "et." Bunsen proposes "*ipse non interfuit*." The reference probably is to the statement of Papias (Euseb. *Histor. Eccles.* iii. 39) as to Mark's Gospel being a narrative not of what he himself witnessed, but of what he heard from Peter.

⁴ The text gives "numine suo ex opinione coneriset," for which we read "nomine suo ex ordine conscripsit" with Westcott.

Paul¹ had associated him with himself¹ as one studious of right.² Nor did he himself see the Lord in the flesh; and he, according as he was able to accomplish it, began³ his narrative with the nativity of John. The fourth Gospel is that of John, one of the disciples. When his fellow-disciples and bishops entreated him, he said, "Fast ye now with me for the space of three days, and let us recount to each other whatever may be revealed to each of us." On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should narrate all things in his own name as they called them to mind (or as they revised them, *recognoscentibus*). And hence, although different points (*principia*) are taught us in the several books of the Gospels, there is no difference as regards the faith of believers, inasmuch as in all of them all things are related under one imperial (*principali*, leading) spirit, which concern the [Lord's] nativity, His passion, His resurrection, His conversation with His disciples, and His twofold advent,—the first in the humiliation of rejection, which is now past, and the second in the glory of royal power, which is yet in the future. What marvel is it, then, that John brings forward these several things (*singula*) so constantly in his epistles also, saying in his own person, "What we have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, that have we written."⁴ For thus he professes himself to be not only the eye-witness, but also the hearer; and besides that, the historian of all the wondrous facts concerning the Lord in their order.

2. Moreover, the acts of all the apostles are comprised by Luke in one book, and addressed to the most excellent Theophilus, because these different events took place when he was present himself; and he shows this clearly (*i.e.* that the principle on which he wrote was to give only what fell under his

¹ Reading "secum" for "secundum."

² The text gives "quasi ut juris studiosum," for which "quasi et virtutis studiosum," = "as one devoted to virtue," has been proposed. Bunsen reads "itineris socium" = "as his companion in the way."

³ "Incepit" for "incipet."

⁴ 1 John i. 1.

own notice) by the omission¹ of the passion of Peter, and also of the journey of Paul, when he went from the city (Rome) to Spain.

3. As to the epistles² of Paul, again, to those who will understand the matter, they indicate of themselves what they are, and from what place or with what object they were directed. He wrote first of all, and at considerable length, to the Corinthians, to check the schism of heresy; and then to the Galatians, to forbid circumcision; and then to the Romans on the rule of the [Old Testament] Scriptures, and also to show them that Christ is the first object (*principium*) in these;—which it is needful for us to discuss severally,³ as the blessed Apostle Paul, following the rule of his predecessor John, writes to no more than seven churches by name, in this order: the first to the Corinthians, the second to the Ephesians, the third to the Philippians, the fourth to the Colossians, the fifth to the Galatians, the sixth to the Thessalonians, the seventh to the Romans. Moreover, though he writes twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction, it is yet shown (*i.e.* by this sevenfold writing) that there is one church spread abroad through the whole world. And John too, indeed, in the Apocalypse, although he writes only to seven churches, yet addresses all. He wrote, besides these, one to Philemon, and one to Titus, and two to Timothy, in simple personal affection and love indeed; but yet these are hallowed in the esteem of the catholic church, [and] in the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. There are also in circulation one to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, [and] addressed against the heresy of Marcion; and there are also several others which cannot be received into the catholic church, for it is not suitable for gall to be mingled with honey.

¹ The text is, “semote passionem Petri,” etc., for which Westcott reads “semotâ.”

² Reading “epistolæ” and “directæ” instead of “epistola” and “directe,” and “volentibus” for “voluntatibus.”

³ The text is, “de quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari cum,” etc. Bunsen reads, “de quibus non necesse est a nobis disputari cur” = “on which we need not discuss the reason why.”

4. The Epistle of Jude, indeed (*sane*), and two belonging to the above-named John (or bearing the name of John), are reckoned among the catholic [epistles].¹ And the [book of] Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour, [is admitted]. We receive also the Apocalypse of John and [that of] Peter, though some amongst us will not have this latter read in the church. The *Pastor*, moreover, did Hermas write very recently in our times in the city of Rome, while his brother bishop Pius sat in the chair of the church of Rome. And therefore it also ought to be read; but it cannot be made public² in the church to the people, nor [placed] among the prophets, as their number is complete, nor among the apostles to the end of time. Of [the writings of] Arsinous, called also Valentinus, or of Miltiades, we receive nothing at all. Those too who wrote the new *Book of Psalms* for Marcion, together with Basilides and the founder of the Asian Cataphrygians, [are rejected].

¹ The text is "in catholica," which may be "in the catholic church." Bunsen, Westcott, etc., read "in catholicis."

² Reading "sed publicari" for "se publicare."

THE EXTANT WRITINGS OF JULIUS AFRICANUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE principal facts known to us in the life of Africanus are derived from himself and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. He says of himself that he went to Alexandria on account of the fame of Heraclas. In the *Chronicon*, under the year 226, it is stated that "Nicopolis in Palestine, which formerly bore the name of Emmaus, was built, Africanus, the author of the *Chronology*, acting as ambassador on behalf of it, and having the charge of it." Dionysius Bar-Salibi speaks of Africanus as bishop of Emmaus.

Eusebius describes Africanus as being the author of a work called *κεστοί*.¹ Suidas says that this book detailed various kinds of cures, consisting of charms and written forms, and such like. Some have supposed that such a work is not likely to have been written by a Christian writer: they appeal also to the fact that no notice is taken of the *κεστοί* by Jerome in his notice of Africanus, nor by Rufinus in his translation of Eusebius. They therefore deem the clause in Eusebius an interpolation, and they suppose that two bore the name of Africanus,—one the author of the *κεστοί*, the other the Christian writer. Suidas identifies them, says that he was surnamed Sextus, and that he was a Libyan philosopher.

The works ascribed to Africanus, beside the *Cesti*, are the following:

1. *Five Books of Chronology*. Photius² says of this work, that it was concise, but omitted nothing of importance. It

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 31.

² *Cod.* 34.

began with the cosmogony of Moses, and went down to the advent of Christ. It summarized also the events from the time of Christ to the reign of the Emperor Macrinus.

2. A very famous letter to Aristides, in which he endeavoured to reconcile the apparent discrepancies in the genealogies of Christ given by Matthew and Luke.


3. A letter to Origen, in which he endeavoured to prove that the story of Susanna in Daniel was a forgery. A translation of this letter will be given in the *Works of Origen*.

4. *The Acts of Symphorosa and her Seven Sons* are attributed in the MSS. to Africanus; but no ancient writer speaks of him as the author of this work.

I. THE EPISTLE OF AFRICANUS TO ARISTIDES.

[This letter, as given by Eusebius, is acephalous. A large portion of it is supplied by Cardinal Angelo Mai in the *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, vol. iv. pp. 231 and 273. We enclose in brackets the parts wanting in Gallandi, who copied Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 7).]

I.

[]FRICANUS ON THE GENEALOGY IN THE HOLY GOSPELS.¹—Some indeed incorrectly allege that this discrepant enumeration and mixing of the names both of priestly men, as they think, and royal, was made properly (*δικαίως*), in order that Christ might be shown rightfully to be both Priest and King; as if any one disbelieved this, or had any other hope than this, that Christ is the High Priest of His Father, who presents our prayers to Him, and a supramundane King, who rules by the Spirit those whom He has delivered, a co-operator in the government of all things. And this is announced to us not by the catalogue of the tribes, nor by the mixing of the registered generations, but by the patriarchs and prophets.

¹ On this celebrated letter of Africanus to Aristides, consult especially Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 7); also Jerome, comm. on Matt. i. 16; Augustine, *Retract.* ii. 7; Photius, cod. xxxiv. p. 22; and in addition to these, Zacharias Chrysopol. in *Bibl. P. P. Lugd.* vol. xix. p. 751.

Let us not therefore descend to such religious trifling as to establish the kingship and priesthood of Christ by the interchanges of the names. For the priestly tribe of Levi, too, was allied with the kingly tribe of Juda, through the circumstance that Aaron married Elizabeth the sister of Naasson,¹ and that Eleazar again married the daughter of Phatiel,² and begat children. The evangelists, therefore, would thus have spoken falsely, affirming what was not truth, but a fictitious commendation. And for this reason the one traced the pedigree of Jacob the father of Joseph from David through Solomon; the other traced that of Heli also, though in a different way, the father of Joseph, from Nathan the son of David. And they ought not indeed to have been ignorant that both orders of the ancestors enumerated are the generation of David, the royal tribe of Juda. For if Nathan was a prophet, so also was Solomon, and so too the father of both of them; and there were prophets belonging to many of the tribes, but priests belonging to none of the tribes, save the Levites only. To no purpose, then, is this fabrication of theirs. Nor shall an assertion of this kind prevail in the church of Christ against the exact truth, so as that a lie should be contrived for the praise and glory of Christ. For who does not know that most holy word of the apostle also, who, when he was preaching and proclaiming the resurrection of our Saviour, and confidently affirming the truth, said with great fear, "If any say that Christ is not risen, and we assert and have believed this, and both hope for and preach that very thing, we are false witnesses of God, in alleging that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up?"³ And if he who glorifies God the Father is thus afraid lest he should seem a false witness in narrating a marvellous fact, how should not he be justly afraid, who tries to establish the truth by a false statement, preparing an untrue opinion? For if the generations are different, and trace down no genuine seed to Joseph, and if all has been stated only with the view of establishing the position of Him who was to be born—to confirm the truth, namely, that He who was to be would be king and priest,

¹ Ex. vi. 23.² Ex. vi. 25.³ 1 Cor. xv. 12, etc.

there being at the same time no proof given, but the dignity of the words being brought down to a feeble hymn,—it is evident that no praise accrues to God from that, since it is a falsehood, but rather judgment returns on him who asserts it, because he vaunts an unreality as though it were reality. Therefore, that we may expose the ignorance also of him who speaks thus, and prevent any one from stumbling at this folly, I shall set forth the true history of these matters.]

II.

For¹ whereas in Israel the names of their generations were enumerated either according to nature or according to law,—according to nature, indeed, by the succession of legitimate offspring, and according to law whenever another raised up children to the name of a brother dying childless; for because no clear hope of resurrection was yet given them, they had a representation of the future promise in a kind of mortal resurrection, with the view of perpetuating the name of one deceased;—whereas, then, of those entered in this genealogy, some succeeded by legitimate descent as son to father, while others begotten in one family were introduced to another in name, mention is therefore made of both—of those who were progenitors in fact, and of those who were so only in name. Thus neither of the evangelists is in error, as the one reckons by nature and the other by law. For the several generations, viz. those descending from Solomon and those from Nathan, were so intermingled² by the raising up of children to the childless,³ and by second marriages, and the raising up of seed, that the same persons are quite justly reckoned to belong at one time to the one, and at another to the other, *i.e.* to their reputed or to their actual fathers. And

¹ Here what is given in Eusebius begins.

² Reading *συνεπεπλάκη*. Migne would make it equivalent to “superimplexum est.” Rufinus renders it, “Reconjunctum namque est sibi invicem genus, et illud per Salomonem et illud quod per Nathan deducitur,” etc.

³ *ἀναστάσεις ἀπέκνων*. Rufinus and Damascenus omit these words in their versions of the passage.

hence it is that both these accounts are true, and come down to Joseph, with considerable intricacy indeed, but yet quite accurately.

III.

But in order that what I have said may be made evident, I shall explain the interchange¹ of the generations. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, Matthan is found to be the third from the end, who begat Jacob the father of Joseph. But if, with Luke, we reckon them from Nathan the son of David, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi, whose son was Heli the father of Joseph. For Joseph was the son of Heli, the son of Melchi.² As Joseph, therefore, is the object proposed to us, we have to show how it is that each is represented as his father, both Jacob as descending from Solomon, and Heli as descending from Nathan: first, how these two, Jacob and Heli, were brothers; and then also how the fathers of these, Matthan and Melchi, being of different families, are shown to be the grandfathers of Joseph. Well, then, Matthan and Melchi, having taken the same woman to wife in succession, begat children who were uterine brothers, as the law did not prevent a widow,³ whether such by divorce or by the death of her husband, from marrying another. By Estha, then—for such is her name according to tradition—Matthan first, the descendant of Solomon, begets Jacob; and on Matthan's death, Melchi, who traces his descent back to Nathan, being of the same tribe but of another family, having married her, as has been already said, had a son Heli. Thus, then, we shall find Jacob and Heli uterine brothers, though of different families. And of these, the one Jacob having taken the wife of his

¹ The reading of the Codex Regius is ἀκολουθίαν, *i.e.* succession; the other leading MSS. give ἐπαλλαγὴν, *i.e.* interchange or confusion.

² But in our text in Luke iii. 23, 24, and so, too, in the Vulgate, Matthat and Levi are inserted between Heli and Melchi. It may be that these two names were not found in the copy used by Africanus.

³ Here Africanus applies the term "widow" (χρηστούσαν) to one divorced as well as to one bereaved.

brother Heli, who died childless, begat by her the third, Joseph—his son by nature and by account (*κατὰ λόγον*). Whence also it is written, “And Jacob begat Joseph.” But according to law he was the son of Heli, for Jacob his brother raised up seed to him. Wherefore also the genealogy deduced through him will not be made void, which the Evangelist Matthew in his enumeration gives thus: “And Jacob begat Joseph.” But Luke, on the other hand, says, “Who was the son, as was supposed¹ (for this, too, he adds), of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi.” For it was not possible more distinctly to state the generation according to law; and thus in this mode of generation he has entirely omitted the word “begat” to the very end, carrying back the genealogy by way of conclusion to Adam and to God.²

IV.

Nor indeed is this incapable of proof, neither is it a rash conjecture. For the kinsmen of the Saviour after the flesh, whether to magnify their own origin or simply to state the fact, but at all events speaking truth, have also handed down the following account: Some Idumean robbers attacking Ascalon, a city of Palestine, besides other spoils which they took from a temple of Apollo, which was built near the walls, carried off captive one Antipater, son of a certain Herod, a servant of the temple. And as the priest³ was not able to pay the ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs

¹ Two things may be remarked here: first, that Africanus refers the phrase “as was supposed” not only to the words “son of Joseph,” but also to those that follow, “the son of Heli;” so that Christ would be the son of Joseph by legal adoption, just in the same way as Joseph was the son of Heli, which would lead to the absurd and impious conclusion that Christ was the son of Mary and a brother of Joseph married by her after the death of the latter. And second, that in the genealogy here assigned to Luke, Melchi holds the *third* place; whence it would seem either that Africanus’s memory had failed him, or that in his copy of the Gospel Melchi stood in place of Matthat, as Bede conjectures (Migne).

² Other mss. read, “Adam the son of God.”

³ The word “priest” is used here perhaps improperly for “servant of the temple,” *i.e.* *ιερεύς* for *ιερέδουλος*.

of the Idumeans, and afterwards enjoyed the friendship of Hyrcanus, the high priest of Judea. And being sent on an embassy to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus, and having restored to him the kingdom which was being wasted by Aristobulus his brother, he was so fortunate as to obtain the title of procurator of Palestine.¹ And when Antipater was treacherously slain through envy of his great good fortune, his son Herod succeeded him, who was afterwards appointed king of Judea under Antony and Augustus by a decree of the senate. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. These accounts are given also in the histories of the Greeks.²

V.

But as up to that time the genealogies of the Hebrews had been registered in the public archives, and those, too, which were traced back to the proselytes³—as, for example, to Achior the Ammanite, and Ruth the Moabitess, and those who left Egypt along with the Israelites, and intermarried with them—Herod, knowing that the lineage of the Israelites contributed nothing to him, and goaded by the consciousness of his ignoble birth, burned the registers of their families. This he did, thinking that he would appear to be of noble birth, if no one else could trace back his descent by the public register to the patriarchs or proselytes, and to that mixed race called *georæ*.⁴ A few, however, of the studious, having private

¹ So Josephus styles him “procurator of Judea, and viceroy” (ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Ἰουδαίας, and ἐπίτροπος).

² This whole story about Antipater is fictitious. Antipater's father was not Herod, a servant in the temple of Apollo, but Antipater an Idumean, as we learn from Josephus (xiv. 2). This Antipater was made prefect of Idumea by Alexander king of the Jews, and laid the foundation of the power to which his descendants rose. He acquired great wealth, and was on terms of friendship with Ascalon, Gaza, and the Arabians.

³ Several MSS. read ἀρχιπροσηλύτων for ἀρχι προσηλύτων, whence some conjecture that the correct reading should be ἀρχι τῶν ἀρχιπροσηλύτων, i.e. back to the “chief proselytes,”—these being, as it were, patriarchs among the proselytes, like Achior, and those who joined the Israelites on their flight from Egypt.

⁴ This word occurs in the Septuagint version of Ex. xii. 19, and

records of their own, either by remembering the names or by getting at them in some other way from the archives, pride themselves in preserving the memory of their noble descent; and among these happen to be those already mentioned, called *desposyni*,¹ on account of their connection with the family of the Saviour. And these coming from Nazara and Cochaba, Judean villages, to other parts of the country, set forth the above-named genealogy² as accurately as possible from the Book of Days.³ Whether, then, the case stand thus or not, no one could discover a more obvious explanation, according to my own opinion and that of any sound judge. And let this suffice us for the matter, although it is not supported by testimony, because we have nothing more satisfactory or true to allege upon it. The Gospel, however, in any case states the truth.

refers to the *strangers* who left Egypt along with the Israelites. For Israel was accompanied by a mixed body, consisting on the one hand of native Egyptians, who are named *αὐτόχθονες* in that passage of Exodus. and by the resident aliens, who are called *γειῶναι*. Justin Martyr has the form *γῆδρων* in *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. cxxii. The root of the term is evidently the Hebrew *גֵר*, "stranger."

¹ The word *δеспόσυνοι* was employed to indicate the Lord's relatives, as being His according to the flesh. The term means literally, "those who belong to a master," and thence it was used also to signify "one's heirs."

² *προσειρημένην*. Nicephorus reads *προκειμένην*.

³ *ἐκ τε τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν*. By this "Book of Days" Africanus understands those "day-books" which he has named, a little before this, *ἰδιωτικῶς ἀπογραφάς*. For among the Jews, most persons setting a high value on their lineage were in the habit of keeping by them private records of their descent copied from the public archives, as we see it done also by nobles among ourselves. Besides, by the insertion of the particle *τε*, which is found in all our codices, and also in Nicephorus, it appears that something is wanting in this passage. Wherefore it seems necessary to supply these words, *καὶ ἀπὸ μνήμης ἐς ὅσον ἐξιπνύοντο*, "and from memory," etc. Thus at least Rufinus seems to have read the passage, for he renders it: *Ordinem supradictæ generationis partim memoriter, partim etiam ex dierum libris, in quantum erat possibile, perdocebant* (Migne).

VI.

Matthan, descended from Solomon, begat Jacob. Matthan dying, Melchi, descended from Nathan, begat Heli by the same wife. Therefore Heli and Jacob are uterine brothers. Heli dying childless, Jacob raised up seed to him and begat Joseph, his own son by nature, but the son of Heli by law. Thus Joseph was the son of both.

II. THE EXTANT FRAGMENTS OF THE FIVE BOOKS OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF JULIUS AFRICANUS.

I.

[In Georgius Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 17, ed. Paris, 14 Venet.]

On the Mythical Chronology of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

THE Egyptians, indeed, with their boastful notions of their own antiquity, have put forth a sort of account of it by the hand of their astrologers in cycles and myriads of years; which some of those who have had the repute of studying such subjects profoundly have in a summary way called lunar years; and inclining no less than others to the mythical, [they think they] fall in with the eight or nine thousands of years which the Egyptian priests in Plato falsely reckon up to Solon.¹

(*And after some other matter :*)

For why should I speak of the three myriad years of the Phœnicians, or of the follies of the Chaldeans, their forty-eight myriads? For the Jews, deriving their origin from them as descendants of Abraham, having been taught a modest mind, and one such as becomes men, together with the truth by the spirit of Moses, have handed down to us, by

¹ The text is : . . . συμπιπτουσι ταῖς ὀκτῶ καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάσιν ἐτῶν, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνα ἱερεῖς εἰς Σόλωνα καταριθμοῦντες οὕτως ἀληθεύουσι.

their extant Hebrew histories, the number of 5500 years as the period up to the advent of the Word of salvation, that was announced to the world in the time of the sway of the Cæsars.

II.

[In the same, p. 19, al. 15.]

When men multiplied on the earth, the angels of heaven came together with the daughters of men. In some copies I found "the sons of God." What is meant by the Spirit, in my opinion, is that the descendants of Seth are called the sons of God on account of the righteous men and patriarchs who have sprung from him, even down to the Saviour Himself; but that the descendants of Cain are named the seed of men, as having nothing divine in them, on account of the wickedness of their race and the inequality of their nature, being a mixed people, and having stirred the indignation of God.¹ But if it is thought that these refer to angels, we must take them to be those who deal with magic and jugglery, who taught the women the motions of the stars and the knowledge of things celestial, by whose power they conceived the giants as their children, by whom wickedness came to its height on the earth, until God decreed that the whole race of the living should perish in their impiety by the deluge.

III.

[In the same, p. 81, al. 65.]

Adam, when 230 years old, begets Seth; and after living other 700 years he died, that is, a second death.

Seth, when 205 years old, begat Enos; from Adam therefore to the birth of Enos there are 435 years in all.

Enos, when 190 years old, begets Cainan.

Cainan again, when 170 years old, begets Malaleel;

And Malaleel, when 165 years old, begets Jared;

¹ The text here is manifestly corrupt: ἐπιμαρχθέντων αὐτῶν, τὰς ἀγαπάταις ποιήσασθαι τὸν Θεόν.

And Jared, when 162 years old, begets Enoch ;

And Enoch, when 165 years old, begets Mathusala ; and having pleased God, after a life of other 200 years, he was not found.

Mathusala, when 187 years old, begat Lamech.

Lamech, when 188 years old, begets Noe.

IV.

[In the same, p. 21, al. 17.]

On the Deluge.

God decreed to destroy the whole race of the living by a flood, having threatened that men should not survive beyond 120 years. Nor let it be deemed a matter of difficulty, because some lived afterwards a longer period than that. For the space of time meant was 100 years up to the flood in the case of the sinners of that time ; for they were 20 years old. God instructed Noe, who pleased him on account of his righteousness, to prepare an ark ; and when it was finished, there entered it Noe himself and his sons, his wife and his daughters-in-law, and firstlings of every living creature, with a view to the duration of the race. And Noe was 600 years old when the flood came on. And when the water abated, the ark settled on the mountains of Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia ;¹ but some say that they are at Celænæ² of Phrygia, and I have seen both places. And the flood prevailed for a year, and then the earth became dry. And they came out of the ark in pairs, as may be found, and not in the manner in which they had entered, viz. distinguished according to their species, and were blessed by God. And each of these things indicates something useful to us.

¹ That is, in Armenia.

² For there was a hill Ararat in Phrygia, from which the Marsyas issued, and the ark was declared to have rested there by the Sibylline oracles.

V.

[In the same, p. 83, al. 67.]

Noe was 600 years old when the flood came on. From Adam, therefore, to Noe and the flood, are 2262 years.

VI.

[In the same, p. 86, al. 68.]

And after the flood, Sem begat Arphaxad.

Arphaxad, when 135 years old, begets Sala in the year 2397.

Sala, when 130 years old, begets Heber in the year 2527.

Heber, when 134 years old, begets Phalec in the year 2661, so called because the earth was divided in his days.

Phalec, when 130 years old, begat Ragan, and after living other 209 years died.

VII.

[In the same, p. 93, al. 74.]

In the year of the world 3277, Abraham entered the promised land of Canaan.

VIII.

[In the same, p. 99, al. 79.]

Of Abraham.

From this rises the appellation of the *Hebrews*. For the word *Hebrews* is interpreted to mean *those who migrate across*, viz. who crossed the Euphrates with Abraham; and it is not derived, as some think, from the fore-mentioned Heber. From the flood and Noe, therefore, to Abraham's entrance into the promised land, there are in all 1015 years; and from Adam, in 20 generations, 3277 years.

IX.

[In the same, p. 100, al. 80.]

Of Abraham and Lot.

When a famine pressed the land of Canaan, Abraham came down to Egypt; and fearing lest he should be put out of the way on account of the beauty of his wife, he pretended that he was her brother. But Pharaoh took her to himself when she was commended to him; for this is the name the Egyptians give their kings. And he was punished by God; and Abraham, along with all pertaining to him, was dismissed enriched. In Canaan, Abraham's shepherds and Lot's contended with each other; and with mutual consent they separated, Lot choosing to dwell in Sodom on account of the fertility and beauty of the land, which had five cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama, Seboim, Segor, and as many kings. On these their neighbours the four Syrian kings made war, whose leader was Chodollogomor king of Ælam. And they met by the Salt Sea, which is now called the Dead Sea. In it I have seen very many wonderful things. For that water sustains no living thing, and dead bodies are carried beneath its depths, while the living do not readily even dip under it. Lighted torches are borne upon it, but when extinguished they sink. And there are the springs of bitumen; and it yields alum and salt a little different from the common kinds, for they are pungent and transparent. And wherever fruit is found about it, it is found full of a thick, foul smoke. And the water acts as a cure to those who use it, and it is drained in a manner contrary to any other water.¹ And if it had not the river Jordan feeding it like a shell,² and to a great extent withstanding its tendency, it would have failed more rapidly than appears. There is also by it a great quantity of the balsam plant; but it is supposed to have been destroyed by God on account of the impiety of the neighbouring people.

¹ λέγει τε παντὶ ὕδατι πάσχων τὰ ἐνάντια.² ὡς πορφύρεον.

X.

[In the same, p. 107, al. 86.]

Of the Patriarch Jacob.

1. The shepherd's tent belonging to Jacob, which was preserved at Edessa to the time of Antonine Emperor of the Romans, was destroyed by a thunderbolt.¹

2. Jacob, being displeased at what had been done by Symeon and Levi at Shecem against the people of the country, on account of the violation of their sister, buried at Shecem the gods which he had with him near a rock under the wonderful terebinth,² which up to this day is revered by the neighbouring people in honour of the patriarchs, and removed thence to Bethel. By the trunk of this terebinth there was an altar on which the inhabitants of the country offered *ectenæ*³ in their general assemblies; and though it seemed to be burned, it was not consumed. Near it is the tomb of Abraham and Isaac. And some say that the staff of one of the angels who were entertained by Abraham was planted there.

XI.

[In the same, p. 106, al. 85.]

From Adam, therefore, to the death of Joseph, according to this book, are 23 generations, and 3563 years.

¹ Heliogabalus is probably intended, in whose time Africanus flourished. At least so thinks Syncellus.

² On this terebinth, see Scaliger (*ad Græca Euseb.* p. 414); Franciscus Quaresimus, in *Elucid. terræ sanctæ*; Eugenius Rogerius, etc.; and also Valesius, *ad Euseb. De Vit. Constant.* iii. 53, notes 3 and 5.

³ Scaliger acknowledges himself ignorant of this word *ἐκτενής*. In the Eastern Church it is used to denote protracted prayers (*preces protensiores*) offered by the deacon on behalf of all classes of men, and the various necessities of human life. See Suicer, *sub voce*. Allatius thinks the text corrupt, and would read, *ἐφ' ὃν τὰ τε ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰς ἐκκατόμβας ἀνέφερον* = on which they offered both holocausts and hecatombs.

XII.

[In the same, p. 148, al. 118, from the Third Book of the *Chron.* of Africanus.]

From this record (*συντάγματος*), therefore, we affirm that Ogygus,¹ from whom the first flood [in Attica] derived its name,² and who was saved when many perished, lived at the time of the exodus of the people from Egypt along with Moses.³ (*After a break*): And after Ogygus, on account of the vast destruction caused by the flood, the present land of Attica remained without a king till the time of Cecrops, 189 years.⁴ Philochorus, however, affirms that Ogygus, Actæus, or whatever other fictitious name is adduced, never existed. (*After another break*): From Ogygus to Cyrus, as from Moses to his time, are 1235 years.

XIII.

[From the same Third Book. In Euseb. *Præpar.* x. 40.]

1. Up to the time of the Olympiads there is no certain history among the Greeks, all things before that date being confused, and in no way consistent with each other. But these [Olympiads] were thoroughly investigated (*ἡκριβώντο*) by many, as the Greeks made up the records of their history not according to long spaces, but in periods of four years. For which reason I shall select the most remarkable of the mythical narratives before the time of the first Olympiad, and rapidly run over them. But those after that period, at least those that are notable, I shall take together, Hebrew

¹ Others write Ogyges. Josephus (*in Apionem*), Euseb. (*de Præpar.*), Tatian (*Orat. adv. gent.*), Clemens (*Strom.*), and others, write Ogygus.

² The text is, ὃς τοῦ πρωτοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γέγονεν ἐπώνυμος. The word ἐπώνυμος is susceptible of two meanings, either "taking the name from" or "giving the name to." Ὡγύγια κακά was a proverbial expression for primeval ills.

³ The text is here, κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ Μαυσέως ἔξοδον γενέσθαι, for which we may read κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, etc.

⁴ "Ὡγυγον Ἀκταῖον ἢ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων. Compare xiii. 6, where we have τὸν γὰρ μετὰ Ὡγυγον Ἀκταῖον, etc.

events in connection with Greek, according to their dates, examining carefully the affairs of the Hebrews, and touching more cursorily on those of the Greeks; and my plan will be as follows: Taking up some single event in Hebrew history synchronous with another in Greek history, and keeping by it as the main subject, subtracting or adding as may seem needful in the narrative, I shall note what Greek or Persian of note, or remarkable personage of any other nationality, flourished at the date of that event in Hebrew history; and thus I may perhaps attain the object which I propose to myself.

2. The most famous exile that befell the Hebrews, then—to wit, when they were led captive by Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon—lasted 70 years, as Jeremias had prophesied. Berosus the Babylonian, moreover, makes mention of Nabuchodonosor. And after the 70 years of captivity, Cyrus became king of the Persians at the time of the 55th Olympiad, as may be ascertained from the *Bibliothecæ* of Diodorus and the histories of Thallus and Castor, and also from Polybius and Phlegon, and others besides these, who have made the Olympiads a subject of study. For the date is a matter of agreement among them all. And Cyrus then, in the first year of his reign, which was the first year of the 55th Olympiad, effected the first partial restoration of the people by the hand of Zorobabel, with whom also was Jesus the son of Josedec, since the period of 70 years was now fulfilled, as is narrated in Esdra the Hebrew historian. The narratives of the beginning of the sovereignty of Cyrus and the end of the captivity accordingly coincide. And thus, according to the reckoning of the Olympiads, there will be found a like harmony of events even to our time. And by following this, we shall also make the other narratives fit in with each other in the same manner.

3. But if the Attic time-reckoning is taken as the standard for affairs prior to these, then from Ogygus, who was believed by them to be an autochthon, in whose time also the first great flood took place in Attica, while Phoroneus reigned over the Argives, as Acusilaus relates, up to the date of the

first Olympiad, from which period the Greeks thought they could fix dates accurately, there are altogether 1020 years; which number both coincides with the above-mentioned, and will be established by what follows. For these things are also recorded by the Athenian¹ historians Hellanicus and Philochorus, who record Attic affairs; and by Castor and Thallus, who record Syrian affairs; and by Diodorus, who writes a universal history in his *Bibliotheca*; and by Alexander Polyhistor, and by some of our own time, yet more carefully, and² by all the Attic writers. Whatever narrative of note, therefore, meets us in these 1020 years, shall be given in its proper place.

4. In accordance with this writing, therefore, we affirm that Ogygus, who gave his name to the first flood, and was saved when many perished, lived at the time of the exodus of the people from Egypt along with Moses.³ And this we make out in the following manner. From Ogygus up to the first Olympiad already mentioned, it will be shown that there are 1020 years; and from the first Olympiad to the first year of the 55th, that is the first year of King Cyrus, which was also the end of the captivity, are 217 years. From Ogygus, therefore, to Cyrus are 1237. And if one carries the calculation backwards from the end of the captivity, there are 1237 years. Thus, by analysis, the same period is found to the first year of the exodus of Israel under Moses from Egypt, as from the 55th Olympiad to Ogygus, who founded Eleusis. And from this point we get a more notable beginning for Attic chronography.

5. So much, then, for the period prior to Ogygus. And at his time Moses left Egypt. And we demonstrate in the following manner how reliable is the statement that this happened at that date. From the exodus of Moses up to

¹ There is a difficulty in the text; Viger omits "Athenian."

² The Latin translator expunges the "and" (*καί*), and makes it = more careful *than* all the Attic writers.

³ The original here, as in the same passage above, is corrupt. It gives *κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον*, which Migne would either omit entirely or replace by *ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτου*.

Cyrus, who reigned after the captivity, are 1237 years. For the remaining years of Moses are 40. The years of Jesus, who led the people after him, are 25; those of the elders, who were judges after Jesus, are 30; those of the judges, whose history is given in the book of Judges, are 490; those of the priests Eli and Samuel are 90; those of the successive kings of the Hebrews are 490. (Then come the 70 years of the captivity¹), the last year of which was the first year of the reign of Cyrus, as we have already said.

6. And from Moses, then, to the first Olympiad there are 1020 years, as to the first year of the 55th Olympiad from the same are 1237, in which enumeration the reckoning of the Greeks coincides with us. And after Ogygus, by reason of the vast destruction caused by the flood, the present land of Attica remained without a king up to Cecrops, a period of 189 years. For Philochorus asserts that the Actæus who is said to have succeeded Ogygus, or whatever other fictitious names are adduced, never existed. *And again*: From Ogygus, therefore, to Cyrus, *says he*, the same period is reckoned as from Moses to the same date, viz. 1237 years; and some of the Greeks also record that Moses lived at that same time. Polemo, for instance, in the first book of his *Greek History*, says: In the time of Apis, son of Phoroneus, a division of the army of the Egyptians left Egypt, and settled in the Palestine called Syrian, not far from Arabia: these are evidently those who were with Moses. And Apion the son of Poseidonius, the most laborious of grammarians, in his book *Against the Jews*, and in the fourth book of his *History*, says that in the time of Inachus king of Argos, when Amosis reigned over Egypt, the Jews revolted under the leadership of Moses. And Herodotus also makes mention of this revolt, and of Amosis, in his second book, and in a certain way also of the Jews themselves, reckoning them among the circumcised, and calling them the Assyrians of Palestine, perhaps through Abraham. And Ptolemy the Mendesian, who narrates the history of the Egyptians from the earliest times, gives

¹ The words in parenthesis are inserted according to Viger's proposal, as there is a manifest omission in the text.

the same account of all these things ; so that among them in general there is no difference worth notice in the chronology.

7. It should be observed, further, that all the legendary accounts which are deemed specially remarkable by the Greeks by reason of their antiquity, are found to belong to a period posterior to Moses ; such as their floods and conflagrations, Prometheus, Io, Europa, the Sparti, the abduction of Proserpine, their mysteries, their legislations, the deeds of Dionysus, Perseus, the Argonauts, the Centaurs, the Minotaur, the affairs of Troy, the labours of Hercules, the return of the Heraclidæ, the Ionian migration and the Olympiads. And it seemed good to me to give an account especially of the before-noted period of the Attic sovereignty, as I intend to narrate the history of the Greeks side by side with that of the Hebrews. For any one will be able, if he only start from my position, to make out the reckoning equally well with me. Now, in the first year of that period of 1020 years, stretching from Moses and Ogygus to the first Olympiad, the passover and the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt took place, and also in Attica the flood of Ogygus. And that is according to reason. For when the Egyptians were being smitten in the anger of God with hail and storms, it was only to be expected that certain parts of the earth should suffer with them ; and, in especial, it was but to be expected that the Athenians should participate in such calamity with the Egyptians, since they were supposed to be a colony from them, as Theopompus alleges in his *Tricarenus*, and others besides him. The intervening period has been passed by, as no remarkable event is recorded during it among the Greeks. But after 94 years Prometheus arose, according to some, who was fabulously reported to have formed men ; for being a wise man, he transformed them from the state of extreme rudeness to culture.

XIV.

[From the same Third Book. In the *Chron. Paschal.* p. 104, ed. Paris, 84 Venet.]

Æschylus, the son of Agamestor, ruled the Athenians

twenty-three years, in whose time Joatham reigned in Jerusalem.

And our canon brings Joatham king of Juda within the first Olympiad.

XV.

[From the same, Book III., and from Book IV. In Syncellus, p. 197, al. 158.]

And Africanus, in the third book of his History, writes : Now the first Olympiad recorded—which, however, was really the fourteenth—was the period when Corœbus was victor ;¹ at that time Ahaz was in the first year of his reign in Jerusalem. Then in the fourth book he says : It is therefore with the first year of the reign of Ahaz that we have shown the first Olympiad to fall in.

XVI.

[From Book v. In Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.* Book VIII. ch. ii. p. 389, etc.²]

On the Seventy Weeks of Daniel.

1. This passage, therefore, as it stands thus, touches on many marvellous things. At present, however, I shall speak only of those things in it which bear upon chronology, and matters connected therewith. That the passage speaks then of the advent of Christ, who was to manifest Himself after seventy weeks, is evident. For in the Saviour's time, or from Him, are transgressions abrogated, and sins brought to an end. And through remission, moreover, are iniquities, along with offences, blotted out by expiation ; and an everlasting righteousness is preached, different from that which is by the law, and visions and prophecies [are] until John, and the Most Holy is anointed. For before the advent of the

¹ The text is, ἀναγραφήναι δὲ πρῶτην τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην, etc.

² The Latin version of this section is by Bernardinus Donatus of Verona. There is also a version by Jerome given in his commentary on Dan. ix. 24.

Saviour these things were not yet, and were therefore only looked for. And the beginning of the numbers, that is, of the seventy weeks, which make up 490 years, the angel instructs us to take from the going forth of the commandment to answer and to build Jerusalem. And this happened in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia. For Nehemiah his cup-bearer besought him, and received the answer that Jerusalem should be built. And the word went forth commanding these things; for up to that time the city was desolate. For when Cyrus, after the seventy years' captivity, gave free permission to all to return who desired it, some of them under the leadership of Jesus the high priest and Zorobabel, and others after these under the leadership of Esdra, returned, but were prevented at first from building the temple, and from surrounding the city with a wall, on the plea that that had not been commanded.

2. It remained in this position, accordingly, until Nehemiah and the reign of Artaxerxes, and the 115th year of the sovereignty of the Persians. And from the capture of Jerusalem that makes 185 years. And at that time King Artaxerxes gave order that the city should be built; and Nehemiah being despatched, superintended the work, and the street and the surrounding wall were built, as had been prophesied. And reckoning from that point, we make up seventy weeks to the time of Christ. For if we begin to reckon from any other point, and not from this, the periods will not correspond, and very many odd results will meet us. For if we begin the calculation of the seventy weeks from Cyrus and the first restoration, there will be upwards of one hundred years too many, and there will be a larger number if we begin from the day on which the angel gave the prophecy to Daniel, and a much larger number still if we begin from the commencement of the captivity. For we find the sovereignty of the Persians comprising a period of 230 years, and that of the Macedonians extending over 370 years, and from that to the 16th¹ year of Tiberius Cæsar is a period of about 60 years.

3. It is by calculating from Artaxerxes, therefore, up to the

¹ Jerome in his version gives the 15th (*quintum decimum*).

time of Christ that the seventy weeks are made up, according to the numeration of the Jews. For from Nehemiah, who was despatched by Artaxerxes to build Jerusalem in the 115th year of the Persian empire, and the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes himself, and the 4th year of the 83d Olympiad, up to this date, which was the second year of the 202d Olympiad, and the 16th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, there are reckoned 475 years, which make 490 according to the Hebrew numeration, as they measure the years by the course of the moon; so that, as is easy to show, their year consists of 354 days, while the solar year has $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. For the latter exceeds the period of twelve months, according to the moon's course, by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days. Hence the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every 8 years. For 8 times $11\frac{1}{4}$ days makes up 3 months. Therefore 475 years make 59 periods of 8 years each, and 3 months besides. But since thus there are 3 intercalary months every 8 years, we get thus 15 years *minus* a few days; and these being added to the 475 years, make up in all the 70 weeks.

XVII.

[In Syncellus, p. 307, al. 244.]

On the Fortunes of Hyrcanus and Antigonus, and on Herod, Augustus, Antony, and Cleopatra, in abstract.

1. Octavius Sebastus, or, as the Romans call him, Augustus, the adopted son of Caius, on returning to Rome from Apollonias in Epirus, where he was educated, possessed himself of the first place in the government. And Antony afterwards obtained the rule of Asia and the districts beyond. In his time the Jews accused Herod; but he put the deputies to death, and restored Herod to his government. Afterwards, however, along with Hyrcanus and Phasælus his brother, he was driven out, and betook himself in flight to Antony. And as the Jews would not receive him, an obstinate battle took place; and in a short time after, as he had conquered in battle, he also drove out Antigonus, who had returned. And

Antigonus fled to Herod the Parthian king, and was restored by the help of his son Pacorus, which help was given on his promising to pay 1000 talents of gold. And Herod then in his turn had to flee, while Phasælus was slain in battle, and Hyrcanus was surrendered alive to Antigonus. And after cutting off his ears, that he might be disqualified for the priesthood, he gave him to the Parthians to lead into captivity; for he scrupled to put him to death, as he was a relation of his own. And Herod, on his expulsion, betook himself first to Malichus king of the Arabians; and when he did not receive him, through fear of the Parthians, he went away to Alexandria to Cleopatra. That was in the 185th Olympiad. Cleopatra having put to death her brother, who was her consort in the government, and being then summoned by Antony to Cilicia to make her defence, committed the care of the sovereignty to Herod; and as he requested that he should not be entrusted with anything until he was restored to his own government,¹ she took him with her and went to Antony. And as he was smitten with love for the princess, they despatched Herod to Rome to Octavius Augustus, who, on behalf of Antipater, Herod's father, and on behalf of Herod himself, and also because Antigonus was established as king by the help of the Parthians, gave a commission to the generals in Palestine and Syria to restore him to his government. And in concert with Sosius he waged war against Antigonus for a long time, and in manifold engagements. At that time also, Josephus, Herod's brother, died in his command. And Herod coming to Antony² . . .

2. For three years they besieged Antigonus, and then brought him alive to Antony. And Antony himself also proclaimed Herod as king, and gave him, in addition, the cities Hippius, Gadara, Gaza, Joppa, Anthedon, and a part of Arabia, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and Sacia, and Gaulanitis;³ and besides these, also the procuratorship of Syria.

¹ The sense is doubtful here: *καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἡξίου πιστεύεσθαι ἔστ' αὖ καταχθῆ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχήν*, etc.

² There is a break here in the original.

³ This is according to the rendering of the Latin version.

Herod was declared king of the Jews by the senate and Octavius Augustus, and reigned 34 years. Antony, when about to go on an expedition against the Parthians, slew Antigonus the king of the Jews, and gave Arabia to Cleopatra; and passing over into the territory of the Parthians, sustained a severe defeat, losing the greater part of his army. That was in the 186th Olympiad. Octavius Augustus led the forces of Italy and all the West against Antony, who refused to return to Rome through fear, on account of his failure in Parthia, and through his love for Cleopatra. And Antony met him with the forces of Asia. Herod, however, like a shrewd fellow, and one who waits upon the powerful, sent a double set of letters, and despatched his army to sea, charging his generals to watch the issue of events. And when the victory was decided, and when Antony, after sustaining two naval defeats, had fled to Egypt along with Cleopatra, they who bore the letters delivered to Augustus those which they had been keeping secretly for Antony. And on Herod falls¹ . . .

3. Cleopatra shut herself up in a mausoleum,² and made away with herself, employing the wild asp as the instrument of death. At that time Augustus captured Cleopatra's sons, Helios and Selene,³ on their flight to the Thebaid. Nicopolis was founded opposite Actium, and the games called Actia were instituted. On the capture of Alexandria, Cornelius Gallus was sent as first governor of Egypt, and he destroyed the cities of the Egyptians that refused obedience. Up to this time the Lagidæ ruled; and the whole duration of the Macedonian empire after the subversion of the Persian power was 298 years. Thus is made up the whole period from the foundation of the Macedonian empire to its subversion in the time of the Ptolemies, and under Cleopatra, the last of these, the date of which event is the 11th year of the monarchy

¹ Here again there is a blank in the original.

² The text is corrupt here. It gives, ἐν τῷ μεσαιολίῳ, a word unknown in Greek. Scaliger reads Μαισαιόλιον. Goarus proposes Μανσωλαῖον, which we adopt in the translation.

³ *i.e.* sun and moon.

and empire of the Romans, and the 4th year of the 187th Olympiad. Altogether, from Adam 5472 years are reckoned.

4. After the taking of Alexandria the 188th Olympiad began. Herod founded anew the city of the Gabinii,¹ the ancient Samaria, and called it Sebaste; and having erected its seaport, the tower of Strato, into a city, he named it Cæsarea after the same, and raised in each a temple in honour of Octavius. And afterwards he founded Antipatris in the Lydian plain, so naming it after his father, and settled in it the people about Sebaste, whom he had dispossessed of their land. He founded also other cities; and to the Jews he was severe, but to other nations most urbane.

It was now the 189th Olympiad, which [Olympiad] in the year that had the bissextile day, the 6th day before the Calends of March (*i.e.* the 24th of February), corresponded with the 24th year of the era of Antioch, whereby the year was determined in its proper limits.²

XVIII.

[In the same, p. 322 or 256.]

On the Circumstances connected with our Saviour's Passion and His Life-giving Resurrection.

1. As to His works severally, and His cures effected upon body and soul, and the mysteries of His doctrine, and the resurrection from the dead, these have been most authori-

¹ Samaria was so named in reference to its restoration by Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria. See Josephus (*Antiq.* book xiv. ch. x.), who states that Gabinius traversed Judea, and gave orders for the rebuilding of such towns as he found destroyed; and that in this way Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Antedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, and not a few others, were restored.

² The text is: ἡν Ὀλυμπιάς ρπθ', ἥτις πρὸς ε' καλανῶν Μαρτίων κατὰ Ἀντιοχεῖς καὶ εἴται ἤχθη, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ὀρίων ἔστη ὁ ἐνιαυτός. In every fourth year the 24th day of February (= vi. Cal. Mart.) was reckoned twice. There were three different eras of Antioch, of which the one most commonly used began in November 49 B.C. Migne refers the reader to the notes of Goarus on the passage, which we have not seen. The sense of this obscure passage seems to be, that that period formed another fixed point in chronology.

tatively set forth by His disciples and apostles before us. On the whole world there pressed a most fearful darkness; and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many places in Judea and other districts were thrown down. This darkness Thallus, in the third book of his *History*, calls, as appears to me without reason, an eclipse of the sun. For the Hebrews celebrate the passover on the 14th day according to the moon, and the passion of our Saviour falls on the day before the passover; but an eclipse of the sun takes place only when the moon comes under the sun. And it cannot happen at any other time but in the interval between the first day of the new moon and the last of the old, that is, at their junction: how then should an eclipse be supposed to happen when the moon is almost diametrically opposite the sun? Let that opinion pass however; let it carry the majority with it; and let this portent of the world be deemed an eclipse of the sun, like others a portent only to the eye (ἐν τι κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν). Phlegon records that, in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, at full moon, there was a full eclipse of the sun from the sixth hour to the ninth—manifestly that one of which we speak. But what has an eclipse in common with an earthquake, the rending rocks, and the resurrection of the dead, and so great a perturbation throughout the universe? Surely no such event as this is recorded for a long period. But it was a darkness induced by God, because the Lord happened then to suffer. And calculation makes out that the period of 70 weeks, as noted in Daniel, is completed at this time.

2. From Artaxerxes, moreover, 70 weeks are reckoned up to the time of Christ, according to the numeration of the Jews. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to people Jerusalem, about the 120th year of the Persian empire, and in the 20th year of Artaxerxes himself, and the 4th year of the 83d Olympiad, up to this time, which was the 2d year of the 102d Olympiad, and the 16th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, there are given 475 years, which make 490 Hebrew years, since they measure the years by the lunar month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, as may easily be explained, the annual period according to the sun consisting of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, while

the lunar period of 12 months has $11\frac{1}{4}$ days less. For which reason the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every eight years. For 8 times $11\frac{1}{4}$ days make 3 months. The 475 years, therefore, contain 59 periods of 8 years and three months over : thus, the three intercalary months for every 8 years being added, we get 15 years, and these together with the 475 years make 70 weeks. Let no one now think us unskilled in the calculations of astronomy, when we fix without further ado the number of days at $365\frac{1}{4}$. For it is not in ignorance of the truth, but rather by reason of exact study (*διὰ τὴν λεπτολογίαν*), that we have stated our opinion so shortly. But let what follows also be presented as in outline (or in a table, *ὡς ἐν γραφῇ*) to those who endeavour to inquire minutely into all things.

3. Each year in the general consists of 365 days; and the space of a day and night being divided into nineteen parts, we have also five of these. And in saying that the year consists of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and there being the five nineteenth parts to the 475 there are $6\frac{1}{4}$ days. Furthermore, we find, according to exact computation, that the lunar month has $29\frac{1}{2}$ days¹ And these come to (*καταγίνεται*) a little time. Now it happens that from the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes (as it is given in Ezra among the Hebrews), which, according to the Greeks, was the 4th year of the 80th Olympiad, to the 16th year of Tiberius Cæsar, which was the second year of the 102d Olympiad, there are in all the 475 years already noted, which in the Hebrew system make 490 years, as has been previously stated, that is, 70 weeks, by which period the time of Christ's advent was measured in the announcement made to Daniel by Gabriel. And if any

¹ The text in the beginning of this section is hopelessly corrupt. Scaliger declares that neither could he follow these things, nor did the man that dreamt them understand them. We may subjoin the Greek text as it stands in Migne : Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν τξέ, καὶ τετραμορίου, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ ιθ' τῆς νυχθημέρου, μερῶν ἐ εἰς τὰ νοέ, ἡμέραι τὸ παράλληλον εἰσὶν ε', καὶ τετραμόριον. "Ἐτι γε μὴν τὸν τῆς σελήνης μῆνα κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ λεπτολογίαν εὐρίσκομεν κθ', καὶ ἡμισείας ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς διαιρεθείσης εἰς μέρη σέ, τούτων τὰ ό, καὶ ἡμισυ . . . ὃ γίνεται ἐννενηκοστοτέταρτα τρία.

one thinks that the 15 Hebrew years added to the others involve us in an error of 10, nothing at least which cannot be accounted for has been introduced. And the $1\frac{1}{2}$ week which we suppose must be added to make the whole number, meets the question about the 15 years, and removes the difficulty about the time; and that the prophecies are usually put forth in a somewhat symbolic form, is quite evident.

4. As far, then, as is in our power, we have taken the Scripture, I think, correctly; especially seeing that the preceding section about the vision seems to state the whole matter shortly, its first words being, "In the third year of the reign of Belshazzar,"¹ where he prophesies of the subversion of the Persian power by the Greeks, which empires are symbolized in the prophecy under the figures of the ram and the goat respectively.² "The sacrifice," he says, "shall be abolished, and the holy places shall be made desolate, so as to be trodden under foot; which things shall be determined within 2300 days."² For if we take the day as a month, just as elsewhere in prophecy days are taken as years, and in different places are used in different ways, reducing the period in the same way as has been done above to Hebrew months, we shall find the period fully made out to the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes, from the capture of Jerusalem. For there are given thus 185 years, and one year falls to be added to these—the year in which Nehemiah built the wall of the city. In 186 years, therefore, we find 2300 Hebrew months, as 8 years have in addition 3 intercalary months. From Artaxerxes, again, in whose time the command went forth that Jerusalem should be built, there are 70 weeks. These matters, however, we have discussed by themselves, and with greater exactness, in our book *On the Weeks and this Prophecy*. But I am amazed that the Jews deny that the Lord has yet come, and that the followers of Marcion refuse to admit that His coming was predicted in the prophecies when the Scriptures display the matter so openly to our view. (*And after something else*): The period, then, to the advent of the Lord from Adam and the creation is 5531 years, from which epoch to

¹ Dan. viii. 1.

² Dan. viii. 13, 14.

the 250th Olympiad there are 192 years, as has been shown above.

XIX.

[In Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. xxix. § 73; *Works*, vol. iii. p. 61, edit. Paris.]

For we who both know the measure of those words,¹ and are not ignorant of the grace of faith, give thanks to the Father,² who has bestowed on us His creatures Jesus Christ the Saviour of all, and our Lord;³ to whom be glory and majesty, with the Holy Spirit, for ever.

THE PASSION OF ST. SYMPHOROSA AND HER SEVEN SONS. ✓

[Gallandi, *Bibl. Patrum*, vol. i. Proleg. p. lxxi. and p. 329.]

[The text is given from the edition of Ruinart. His preface, which Migne also cites, is as follows: "The narrative of the martyrdom of St. Symphorosa and her seven sons, which we here publish, is ascribed in the MSS. to Julius Africanus, a writer of the highest repute. And it may perhaps have been inserted in his books on *Chronography*,—a work which Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 31) testifies to have been written with the greatest care, since in these he detailed the chief events in history from the foundation of the world to the times of the Emperor Heliogabalus. As that work, however, is lost, that this narrative is really to be ascribed to Africanus, I would not venture positively to assert, although at the same time there seems no ground for doubting its genuineness. We print it, moreover, from the editions of Mombricitus, Surius, and Cardulus, collated with two Colbert MSS. and one in the library of the Sorbonne. The occasion for

¹ For ῥημάτων, words, three MSS. give ῥητῶν, sayings.

² For ἡμῖν Πατρί there is another reading, ἡμῶν πατράσι = to Him who gave to our fathers.

³ These words, "and our Lord," are wanting in three MSS.

the death of these saints was found in the vicinity of that most famous palace which was built by Adrian at his country seat at Tiber, according to Spartianus. For when the emperor gave orders that this palace, which he had built for his pleasure, should be purified by some piacular ceremonies, the priests seized this opportunity for accusing Symphorosa, alleging that the gods would not be satisfied until Symphorosa should either sacrifice to them or be herself sacrificed; which last thing was done by Hadrian, whom, from many others of his deeds, we know to have been exceedingly superstitious, about the year of Christ 120, that is, about the beginning of his reign, at which period indeed, as Dio Cassius observes, that emperor put a great number to death. The memory of these martyrs, moreover, is celebrated in all the most ancient martyrologies, although they assign different days for it. The Roman, along with Notker, fixes their festival for the 18th July, Rabanus for the 21st of the same month, Usuardus and Ado for the 21st June. In the Tiburtine road there still exists the rubbish of an old church, as Aringhi states (*Rom. Subter.* iv. 17), which was consecrated to God under their name, and which still retains the title, *To the Seven Brothers*. I have no doubt that it was built in that place to which the pontiffs in the *Acta*, sec. iv., gave the name, *To the Seven Biothanati*, i.e. those cut off by a violent death, as Baronius remarks, at the year 138." So far Ruinart: see also Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* ii. pp. 241 and 595; and the Bollandists, *Act. S.S. Junii*, vol. iv. p. 350.]

1. When Adrian had built a palace, and wished to dedicate it by that wicked ceremonial, and began to seek responses by sacrifices to idols, and to the demons that dwell in idols, they replied,¹ and said: "The widow Symphorosa, with her seven sons, wounds us day by day in invoking her God. If she therefore, together with her sons, shall offer sacrifice, we promise to make good all that you ask." Then Adrian ordered her to be seized, along with her sons, and advised them in courteous terms to consent to offer sacrifice to the

¹ See Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, ii. 50.

idols. To him, however, the blessed Symphorosa answered : " My husband Getulius,¹ together with his brother Amantius, when they were tribunes in thy service, suffered different punishments for the name of Christ, rather than consent to sacrifice to idols, and, like good athletes, they overcame thy demons in death. For, rather than be prevailed on, they chose to be beheaded, and suffered death ; which death, being endured for the name of Christ, gained them temporal ignominy indeed among men of this earth, but everlasting honour and glory among the angels ; and moving now among them, and exhibiting² the trophies of their sufferings, they enjoy eternal life with the King eternal in the heavens."

2. The Emperor Adrian said to the holy Symphorosa : " Either sacrifice thou along with thy sons to the omnipotent gods, or else I shall cause thee to be sacrificed thyself, together with thy sons." The blessed Symphorosa answered : " And whence is this great good to me, that I should be deemed worthy along with my sons to be offered as an oblation to God ?"³ The Emperor Adrian said : " I shall cause thee to be sacrificed to my gods." The blessed Symphorosa replied : " Thy gods cannot take me in sacrifice ; but if I am burned for the name of Christ, my God, I shall rather consume those demons of thine." The Emperor Adrian said : " Choose thou one of these alternatives : either sacrifice to my gods, or perish by an evil death." The blessed Symphorosa replied : " Thou thinkest that my mind can be altered by some kind of terror ; whereas I long to rest with my husband Getulius,⁴ whom thou didst put to death for Christ's name." Then the Emperor Adrian ordered her to be led away to the temple of Hercules, and there first to be beaten with blows on the cheek, and afterwards to be suspended by the hair. But when by no argument and by no terror could he divert her from her good

¹ The Martyrologies celebrate their memory on the 10th June : one of the Colbert MSS. gives *Zoticus* for *Getulius*.

² A Colbert MS. gives " laudantes" = praising.

³ This response, along with the next interrogation, is wanting in the Colbert manuscript.

⁴ Sur., Card., and the Colbert Codex give " Zoticus."

resolution, he ordered her to be thrown into the river with a large stone fastened to her neck. And her brother Eugenius, principal of the district of Tiber, picked up her body, and buried it in a suburb of the same city.

3. Then, on another day, the Emperor Adrian ordered all her seven sons to be brought before him in company; and when he had challenged them to sacrifice to idols, and perceived that they yielded by no means to his threats and terrors, he ordered seven stakes to be fixed around the temple of Hercules, and commanded them to be stretched on the blocks there. And he ordered Crescens, the first, to be transfixed in the throat; and Julian, the second, to be stabbed in the breast; and Nemesius, the third, to be struck through the heart; and Primitivus, the fourth, to be wounded in the navel; and Justin, the fifth, to be struck through in the back with a sword; and Stracteus,¹ the sixth, to be wounded in the side; and Eugenius, the seventh, to be cleft in twain from the head downwards.

4. The next day again the Emperor Adrian came to the temple of Hercules, and ordered their bodies to be carried off together, and cast into a deep pit; and the pontiffs gave to that place the name, *To the Seven Biothanati*.² After these things the persecution ceased for a year and a half, in which period the holy bodies of all the martyrs were honoured, and consigned with all care to tumuli erected for that purpose, and their names are written in the book of life. The natal day, moreover, of the holy martyrs of Christ, the blessed Symphorosa and her seven sons, Crescens, Julian, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justin, Stracteus, and Eugenius, is held on the 18th July. Their bodies rest on the Tiburtine road, at the eighth mile-stone from the city, under the kingship of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ The Colbert Codex reads "Extacteus;" Cardulus gives "Stacteus," by which name he is designated beneath by them all.

² In one of the Colbert codices, and in another from the Sorbonne, there is a passage inserted here about the death of Adrian, which is said to have happened a little after that of these martyrs.

AFRICANUS' NARRATIVE OF EVENTS HAPPENING IN
PERSIA ON THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

[Edited from two Munich codices by J. Chr. von. Aretin, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur*, anno 1804, p. ii. p. 49.]

[The best introduction to this production will be the following preface, as given in Migne:—Many men of learning thus far have been of opinion that the narrative by Africanus of events happening in Persia on Christ's birth, which is extant in two MSS. in the Electoral Library of Munich, and in one belonging to the Imperial Library of Vienna, is a fragment of that famous work which Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian author of the third century after Christ, composed on the history of the world in the chronological order of events up to the reign of Macrinus, and presented in five books to Alexander, son of Mammæa, with the view of obtaining the restoration of his native town Emmaus. With the same expectation which I see incited Lambecius and his compendiator Nesselius, I, too, set myself with the greatest eagerness to go over the codices of our Electoral Library. . . . But, as the common proverb goes, I found coals instead of treasure. This narrative, so far from its being to be ascribed to a writer well reputed by the common voice of antiquity, does not contain anything worthy of the genius of the chronographer Africanus. Wherefore, since by the unanimous testimony of the ancients he was a man of consummate learning and sharpest judgment, while the author of the *Cesti*, which also puts forward the name of Africanus, has been long marked by critics with the character either of anile credulity, or of a marvellous propensity to superstitious fancies, I can readily fall in with the opinion of those who think that he is a different person from the chronographer, and would ascribe this wretched production also to him. But, dear reader, on perusing these pages, if your indignation is not stirred against the man's rashness, you will at least join with me in laughing at his prodigious follies, and will learn, at the same time, that the testimonies of men most distinguished for learning are

not to be rated so highly as to supersede personal examination when opportunity permits.]

AFRICANUS' NARRATIVE OF EVENTS HAPPENING IN PERSIA
ON THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD AND GOD AND
SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

✓ Christ first of all became known from Persia. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts,¹ therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden plates,² and laid up in the royal temples, I shall record; for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has been heard of. Now there is a temple there to Juno, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple Cyrus, that prince instructed in all piety, built, and in which he dedicated in honour of the gods golden and silver statues, and adorned them with precious stones,—that I may not waste words in a profuse description of that ornamentation. Now about that time (as the records on the plates testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting an interpretation of certain dreams, was addressed by the priest Prupupius thus: I congratulate thee, master: Juno has conceived. And the king, smiling, said to him, Has she who is dead conceived? And he said, Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and begets life. And the king said, What is this? explain it to me. And he replied, In truth, master, the time for these things is at hand. For during the whole night the images, both of gods and goddesses, continued beating the ground, saying to each other, Come, let us congratulate Juno. And they say to me, Prophet, come forward; congratulate Juno, for she has been embraced. And I said, How can she be embraced who no longer exists? To which they reply, She has come to life again, and is no longer

¹ The MSS. read γάρ, for.

² The term in the original (ἀλλελαρίαις) is one altogether foreign to Greek, and seems to be of Arabic origin. The sense, however, is evident from the use of synonymous terms in the context.

called Juno,¹ but Urania. For the mighty Sol has embraced her. Then the goddesses say to the gods, making the matter plainer, *Pege*² is she who is embraced; for did not Juno espouse an artificer? And the gods say, That she is rightly called *Pege*, we admit. Her name, moreover, is *Myria*; for she bears in her womb, as in the deep, a vessel of a myriad talents' burden. And as to this title *Pege*, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth the perennial stream of spirit,—a stream containing but a single fish,³ taken with the hook of Divinity, and sustaining the whole world with its flesh as though it were in the sea. You have well said, She has an artificer [in espousal]; but by that espousal she does not bear an artificer on an equality with herself. For this artificer who is born, the son of the chief artificer, framed by his excellent skill the roof of the third heavens, and established by his word this lower world, with its threefold sphere⁴ of habitation.

Thus, then, the statues disputed with each other concerning Juno and *Pege*, and [at length] with one voice they said: When the day is finished, we all, gods and goddesses, shall know the matter clearly. Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly come to pass. For that which emerges is no common affair.

And when the king abode there and watched the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the muses to sing; and whatsoever creatures were within, whether quadruped or fowl, in silver and gold, uttered their several voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled

¹ There is a play upon the words, perhaps, in the original. The Greek term for Juno ("Ἥρα) may be derived from *ἔρα*, *terra*, so that the antithesis intended is, "She is no longer called *Earthly*, but *Heavenly*."

² *i.e.* Fountain, Spring, or Stream.

³ The initial letters of the Greek Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, *i.e.* "Jesus Christ the Son of God the Saviour," when joined together, make the word *ἰχθύς*, *i.e.* fish; and the fathers used the word, therefore, as a mystic symbol of Christ, who could live in the depth of our mortality as in the abyss of the sea.

⁴ *i.e.* as sea, land, and sky.

with great fear, he was about to retire. For he could not endure the spontaneous tumult. The priest therefore said to him, Remain, O king, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to declare to us.

And when these things were said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect : Sovereign Pege, the mighty Sun has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to do you service in parturition, designing blameless nuptials with you, O mother of the chief of all ranks of being, bride of the triune Deity. And the child begotten by extraordinary generation is called the *Beginning* and the *End*,—the beginning of salvation, and the end of perdition.

And when this word was spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, that of Pege alone standing, on which also a royal diadem was found placed, having on its upper side a star set in a carbuncle and an emerald. And on its lower side the star rested.

And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the interpreters of prodigies, and the sages who were under his dominion. And when all the heralds sped with their proclamations, all these assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star above Pege, and the diadem with the star and the stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said : O king, a root (offspring) divine and princely has risen, bearing the image of the King of heaven and earth. For Pege-Myria is the daughter of the Bethlehemite Pege. And the diadem is the mark of a king, and the star is a celestial announcement of portents to fall on the earth. But of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall subvert all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor prefigured the end of their honour. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall displace all the recent. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Christ of the Omnipotent God borne in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman. And the star remained above the statue of Pege, called the

Celestial, until the wise men came forth, and then it went with them.

And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the Satyrs, and said to the images: Pege is not one of us, but stands far above us, in that she gives birth to a man whose conception is in divine fashion (*θείας τύχης σύλλημμα*). O priest Prupupius! what dost thou tarrying here? An action, indicated in writings of old (*ἔγγραφος*), has come upon us, and we shall be convicted as false by a person of power and energy (*ἐμπράκτου*). Wherein we have been deceivers, we have been deceivers; and wherein we have ruled, we have ruled. No longer give we oracular responses. Gone from us is our honour. Without glory and reward are we become. There is One, and One only, who receives again at the hands of all His proper honour. For the rest, be not disturbed.¹ No longer shall the Persians exact tribute of earth and sky. For He who established these things is at hand, to bring practical tribute (*πρακτικούς φόρους*) to Him who sent Him, to renew the ancient image, and to put image with image, and bring the dissimilar to similarity. Heaven rejoices with earth, and earth itself exults at receiving matter of exultation from heaven. Things which have not happened above, have happened on earth beneath. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is seen by the order of the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew attends these. To Myria is given the blessed lot of bearing Pege in Bethlehem, and of conceiving grace of grace. Judæa has seen its bloom, and this country is fading. To Gentiles and aliens, salvation is come; to the wretched, relief is ministered abundantly. With right do women dance, and say, Lady Pege, Spring-bearer, thou mother of the heavenly constellation. Thou cloud that bringest us dew after heat, remember thy dependants, O mistress.

The king then, without delay, sent some of the Magi under his dominion with gifts, the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated to the men of

¹ The text gives *θοροβαδεῖ*, for which Migne proposes *θορύβηθι*.

that time those same things which were also written on the plates of gold, and which were to the following effect :

When we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, roused all the people. How is this, say they, that wise men of the Persians are here, and that along with them there is this strange stellar phenomenon? And the chief of the Jews interrogated us in this way: What is this that attends you,¹ and with what purpose are you here? And we said: He whom ye call Messiah is born. And they were confounded, and dared not withstand us. But they said to us, By the justice of Heaven, tell us what ye know of this matter. And we made answer to them: Ye labour under unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do ye believe us, but ye follow your own heedless counsel. For the Christ, the Son of the Most High, is born, and He is the subverter of your law and synagogues. And therefore is it that, struck with this most excellent response as with a dart,² ye hear in bitterness this name which has come upon you suddenly. And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell to none that such an event had taken place in that land of theirs, lest, as they say, *a revolt rise against us*. But we replied: We have brought gifts in His honour, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which we know to have happened in our country on occasion of His birth; and do ye bid us take your bribes, and conceal the things which have been communicated to us by the Divinity who is above the heavens, and neglect the commandments of our proper King? And after urging many considerations on us, they gave the matter up. And when the king of Judea sent for us and had some converse with us, and put to us certain questions as to the statements we made to him, we acted in the same manner, until he was thoroughly enraged at our replies. We left him accordingly, without giving any greater heed to him than to any common person.

And we came to that place then to which we were sent,

¹ τί τὸ ἐπόμενον, perhaps meant for, What business brings you?

² ὑπὲρ ματαιίας ἀρίστης ὥσπερ κατατοξεύομενοι.

and saw the mother and the child, the star indicating to us the royal babe. And we said to the mother : What art thou named, O renowned mother? And she says : Mary, masters. And we said to her : Whence art thou sprung (*ὁρμωμένη*)? And she replies : From this district of the Bethlehemites (*Βηθλεωτῶν*). Then said we : Hast thou not had a husband? And she answers : I was only betrothed with a view to the marriage covenant, my thoughts being far removed from this. For I had no mind to come to this. And while I was giving very little concern to it, when a certain Sabbath dawned, and straightway at the rising of the sun, an angel appeared to me bringing me suddenly the glad tidings of a son. And in trouble I cried out, Be it not so to me, Lord, for I have not a husband. And he persuaded me to believe, that by the will of God I should have this son.

Then said we to her : Mother, mother, all the gods of the Persians have called thee blessed. Thy glory is great ; for thou art exalted above all women of renown, and thou art shown to be more queenly than all queens.

The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, in His second year, and having in part the likeness of His mother. And she had long hands,¹ and a body somewhat delicate ; and her colour was like that of ripe wheat (*σιτόχρως*) ; and she was of a round face, and had her hair bound up. And as we had along with us a servant skilled in painting from the life, we brought with us to our country a likeness of them both ; and it was placed by our hand in the sacred (*διοπετεῖ*) temple, with this inscription on it : To Jove the Sun, the mighty God, the King of Jesus, the power of Persia dedicated this.

And taking the child up, each of us in turn, and bearing Him in our arms, we saluted Him and worshipped Him, and presented to Him gold, and myrrh, and frankincense, addressing Him thus : We gift Thee with Thine own, O Jesus, Ruler of heaven. Ill would things unordered be ordered, wert Thou not at hand. In no other way could things

¹ *μακρὰς τὰς χεῖρας* according to Migne, instead of the reading of the manuscripts, *μακρὴν τὴν κῆραν ἔχουσα*.

heavenly be brought into conjunction with things earthly, but by Thy descent. Such service cannot be discharged, if only the servant is sent us, as when the Master Himself is present; neither can so much be achieved when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when the king is there himself. It became the wisdom of Thy system, that Thou shouldst deal in this manner with men.¹

And the child leaped and laughed at our caresses and words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell (*συνταξάμενοι*), and when she had shown us honour, and we had testified to her the reverence which became us, we came again to the place in which we lodged. And at eventide there appeared to us one of a terrible and fearful countenance, saying: Get ye out quickly, lest ye be taken in a snare. And we in terror said: And who is he, O divine leader, that plotteth against so august an embassy? And he replied: Herod; but get you up straightway and depart in safety and peace.

And we made speed to depart thence in all earnestness; and we reported in Jerusalem all that we had seen. Behold, then, the great things that we have told you regarding Christ; and we saw Christ our Saviour, who was made known as both God and man. To Him be the glory and the power unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

¹ The manuscripts give *ἀντάρτας*, for which Migne proposes *ἀνθρώπους* or *ἀντεργάτας*.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE CALLISTUS.

CALLISTUS succeeded Zephyrinus in the bishopric of Rome, and discharged the duties of that office for five years. This is all the information which Eusebius¹ gives us in regard to Callistus. Later writers make many other statements.

The letters attributed to him form part of the False Decretals of the pseudo-Isidorus, mentioned in the notice of Zephyrinus.

[Mansi, *Concil.* i. 737.]

THE FIRST EPISTLE.

TO BISHOP BENEDICTUS.

On the Fasts of the Four Seasons, and that no one should take up an Accusation against a Doctor (teacher).



CALLISTUS, archbishop of the church catholic in the city of Rome, to Benedictus, our brother and bishop, greeting in the Lord.

By the love of the brotherhood we are bound, and by our apostolic rule we are constrained, to give answer to the inquiries of the brethren, according to what the Lord has given us, and to furnish them with the authority of the seal of the apostles.

I.

[Of the seasons for fasting.]

Fasting, which ye have learned to hold three times in the year among us, we decree now to take place, as more suitable, in four seasons; so that even as the year revolves through four seasons, we too may keep a solemn fast quarterly in

¹ In his *Chronicon* and *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 21.

the four seasons of the year. And as we are replenished with corn, and wine, and oil for the nourishment of our bodies, so let us be replenished with fasting for the nourishment of our souls, in accordance with the word of the prophet Zechariah, who says, "The word of the Lord came to me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, and I repented not; so again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah: fear ye not. These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; judge the truth and the judgment of peace in your gates; and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour, and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord of hosts. And the word of the Lord of hosts came unto me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of the Lord joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; only love the truth and peace, saith the Lord of hosts."¹ In this, then, we ought to be all of one mind, so that, according to apostolic teaching, we may all say the same thing, and that there be no divisions among us. Let us then be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment;² in ready zeal for which work we congratulate ourselves on having your affection as our partner. For it is not meet for the members to be at variance with the head; but, according to the testimony of sacred Scripture,³ all the members should follow the head. It is matter of doubt, moreover, to no one, that the church of the apostles is the mother of all the churches, from whose ordinances it is not right that you should deviate to any extent. And as the Son of God came to do the Father's will, so shall ye fulfil the will of your mother, which is the church, the head of which, as has been stated already, is the church of Rome. Wherefore, whatsoever may be done against the discipline of this church, without the decision of justice, cannot on any account be permitted to be held valid.

¹ Zech. viii. 1-19.² 1 Pet. iii.³ 1 Cor. xii.

II.

[Of accusations against doctors.]

Moreover, let no one take up an accusation against a doctor (teacher), because it is not right for sons to find fault with fathers, nor for slaves to wound their masters. Now, all those whom they instruct are sons of doctors; and as sons ought to love their fathers after the flesh, so ought they to love their spiritual fathers. For he does not live rightly who does not believe rightly, or who reprehends fathers, or calumniates them. Doctors therefore, who are also called fathers, are rather to be borne with than reprehended, unless they err from the true faith. Let no one, consequently, accuse a doctor by writing (*per scripta*); neither let him answer to any accuser, unless he be one who is trustworthy and recognised by law, and who leads also a life and conversation free from reproach. For it is a thing unworthy that a doctor should reply to a foolish and ignorant person, and one who leads a reprehensible life, according to the man's folly; as Scripture says, Answer not a fool according to his folly.¹ He does not live rightly who does not believe rightly. He means nothing evil who is faithful. If any one is faithful (a believer), let him see to it that he make no false allegations, nor lay a snare for any man. The faithful man acts always in faith; and the unfaithful man plots cunningly, and strives to work the ruin of those who are faithful, and who live in piety and righteousness, because like seeks like. The unfaithful man is one dead in the living body. And on the other hand, the discourse of the man of faith guards the life of his hearers. For as the catholic doctor, and especially the priest of the Lord, ought to be involved in no error, so ought he to be wronged by no machination or passion. Holy Scripture indeed says, Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites;² and we must resist many allurements of this world, and many vanities, in order that the integrity of a true continence may be obtained, whereof the first blemish is pride, the beginning of transgression and

¹ Prov. xxvi. 4.² Eccclus. xviii. 30.

the origin of sin ; for the mind with lustful will knows neither to abstain nor to give itself to piety. No good man has an enemy except in the wicked, who are permitted to be such only in order that the good man may be corrected or exercised through their means. Whatever, therefore, is faultless is defended by the church catholic. Neither for prince, nor for any one who observes piety, is it lawful to venture anything contrary to the divine injunctions. Consequently an unjust judgment, or an unjust decision (*diffinitio*), instituted or enforced by judges under the fear or by the command of a prince, or any bishop or person of influence, cannot be valid. The religious man ought not to hold it enough merely to refrain from entering into the enmities of others, or increasing them by evil speech, unless he also make it his study to extinguish them by good speech.¹ Better is a humble confession in evil deeds, than a proud boasting in good deeds.² Moreover, all who live the blessed life, choose rather to run that course in the proper estate of peace and righteousness, than to involve themselves in the avenging pains of our sins.³ For I am mindful that I preside over the church under the name of him whose confession was honoured by our Lord Jesus Christ, and whose faith ever destroys all errors. And I understand that I am not at liberty to act otherwise than to expend all my efforts on that cause in which the well-being of the universal church is at stake (*infestatur*). I hope, too, that the mercy of God will so favour us, that, with the help of His clemency, every deadly disease may be removed, God Himself expelling it, and that whatever may be done wholesomely, under His inspiration and help, may be accomplished to the praise of thy faith and devotion. For all things cannot otherwise be safe, unless, as far as pertains to the service of the divine office, sacerdotal authority upholds them. Given on the 21st day of November, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antoninus and Alexander.⁴

¹ See Augustine's *Confessions*, book ix. ch. ix.

² See Augustine on Ps. xciii.

³ See Ambrose, Epistle xxi.

⁴ In the year 222.

THE SECOND EPISTLE.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF GAUL.

[Of conspiracies and other illicit pursuits, that they be not engaged in, and of the restoration of the lapsed after penitence.]

Callistus to our most dearly beloved brethren, all the bishops settled throughout Gaul.

By the report of very many, we learn that your love, by the zeal of the Holy Spirit, holds and guides the helm of the church so firmly in the face of all assaults, that by God's will it is conscious neither of shipwreck nor of the losses of shipwreck. Rejoicing, therefore, in such testimonies, we beg you not to permit anything to be done in those parts contrary to the apostolic statutes; but, supported by our authority, do ye check what is injurious, and prohibit what is unlawful.

I.

[Of those who conspire against bishops, or who take part with such.]

Now we have heard that the crime of conspiracies prevails in your parts, and it has been shown us that the people are conspiring against their bishops; of which crime the craft is hateful, not only among Christians, but even among the heathen, and it is forbidden by foreign laws. And therefore the laws not only of the church, but of the world, condemn those who are guilty of this crime; and not only those indeed who actually conspire, but those also who take part with such.¹ Our predecessors, moreover, together with a very numerous body of bishops, ordained that any (guilty of this offence) among those who are set in the honour of the priesthood, and who belong to the clergy, should be deprived of the honour which they enjoy; and they ordered that others should be cut off from communion, and expelled from the church; and they decreed, at the same time, that all men of both orders should be infamous (*infames*); and that, too,

¹ Cf. Rom. i. 32.

not only for those who did the deed, but for those also who took part with such. For it is but equitable that those who despise the divine mandates, and prove themselves disobedient to the ordinances of the fathers, should be chastised with severer penalties, in order that others may fear to do such things, and that all may rejoice in brotherly concord, and all take to themselves the example of severity and goodness. For if (which may God forbid) we neglect the care of the church, and are regardless of its strength, our slothfulness will destroy discipline, and injury will be done assuredly to the souls of the faithful. Such persons, moreover, are not to be admitted to accuse any one: neither can their voice, nor that of those who are under the ban, injure or criminate any man.

II.

[Of those who have intercourse with excommunicated persons, or with unbelievers.]

Those, too, who are excommunicated by the priests, let no one receive previous to the just examination of both sides; nor let him have any intercourse with such in speech, or in eating or drinking, or in the salutation with the kiss, nor let him greet such; because, whosoever wittingly holds intercourse with the excommunicated in these or other prohibited matters, will subject himself, according to the ordinance of the apostles,¹ to like excommunication. From these, therefore, let clergy and laity keep themselves, if they would not have the same penalty to endure. Also do not join the unbelievers, neither have any fellowship with them. They who do such things, indeed, are judged not as believers, but as unbelievers. Whence the apostle says: "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel? or what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"²

¹ The reference is to the 11th and 12th of the canons of the apostles.

² 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

III.

[That no bishop should presume in anything pertaining to another's parish, and of the transference of bishops.]

Let no one, again, trespass upon the boundaries of another, nor presume to judge or excommunicate one belonging to another's parish; because such judgment or ordination, or excommunication or condemnation, shall neither be ratified nor have any virtue; since no one shall be bound by the decision of another judge than his own, neither shall he be condemned by such. Whence also the Lord speaks to this effect: "Pass not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set."¹ Moreover, let no primate or metropolitan [invade] the church or parish of a diocesan (*diocesani*), or presume to excommunicate or judge any one belonging to his parish, or do anything without his counsel or judgment; but let him observe this law, which has been laid down by the apostles² and fathers, and our predecessors, and has been ratified by us: to wit, that if any metropolitan bishop, except in that which pertains to his own proper parish alone, shall attempt to do anything without the counsel and good-will of all the con-provincial bishops, he will do it at the risk of his position, and what he does in this manner shall be held null and void; but whatever it may be necessary to do or to arrange with regard to the cases of the body of provincial bishops, and the necessities of their churches and clergy and laity, this should be done by consent of all the pontiffs of the same province, and that too without any pride of lordship, but with the most humble and harmonious action, even as the Lord says: "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."³ And in another passage he says: "And whosoever of you is the greater, shall be your servant,"⁴ and so forth. And in like manner the bishops of the same province themselves should do all things in counsel with him, except so much as pertains to their own proper parishes, in accordance with the statutes of the holy fathers (who, although

¹ Prov. xxii. 28.

² Canons 35 and 36.

³ Matt. xx. 28.

⁴ Mark x. 44.

they have preceded us by a certain interval of time, have yet drawn the light of truth and faith from one and the same fountain of purity, and have sought the prosperity of the church of God and the common advantage of all Christians by the same enlightening and guiding Spirit), that with one mind, and one mouth, and one accord, the Holy Trinity may be glorified for ever. No primate, no metropolitan, nor any of the other bishops, is at liberty to enter the seat of another, or to occupy a possession which does not pertain to him, and which forms part of the parish of another bishop, at the direction of any one, unless he is invited by him to whose jurisdiction it is acknowledged to belong; nor can he set about any arrangement or ordinance, or judgment there, if he wishes to keep the honour of his station. But if he presume to do otherwise, he shall be condemned; and not only he, but those who co-operate and agree with him: for just as the power of making appointments (*ordinatio*) is interdicted in such circumstances, so also is the power of judging or of disposing of other matters. For if a man has no power to appoint, how shall he judge? Without doubt, he shall in no wise judge or have power to judge: for just as another man's wife cannot intermarry with any one (*adulterari*), nor be judged or disposed of by any one but by her own husband so long as he liveth; so neither can it in anywise be allowed that the wife of a bishop, by whom undoubtedly is meant his church or parish, should be judged or disposed of by another without his (the bishop's) judgment and good-will so long as he liveth, or enjoy another's embrace, that is, his ordaining. Wherefore the apostle says: "The wife is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth; but if he be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband."¹ In like manner also, the spouse of a bishop (for the church is called his spouse and wife) is bound to him while he liveth; but when he is dead she is loosed, and may be wedded to whomsoever she will, only in the Lord, that is, according to order. For if, while he is alive, she marry another, she shall be judged to be an adulteress. And in the same manner, he too, if he

¹ Rom. vii. 2.

marry another of his own will, shall be held to be an adulterer, and shall be deprived of the privilege of communion. If, however, he is persecuted in his own church, he must flee to another, and attach himself to it, as the Lord says: "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another."¹ If, however, the change be made for the sake of the good [of the church], he may not do this of himself, but only on the invitation of the brethren, and with the sanction of this holy seat, and not for ambition's sake, but for the public good.

IV.

[Of marriages among blood-relations, and of those who are born of them ;
and of accusations which the laws reject.]

Moreover, marriages among blood-relations are forbidden, since all laws, both sacred and secular, forbid such. Wherefore the divine laws not only expel, but even anathematize those who do so, and those who spring from them. Secular laws, again, call such persons infamous, and interdict them from inheriting. And we too, following our fathers, and keeping close by their footsteps, brand such with infamy, and hold them to be infamous, because they are sprinkled with the stains of infamy. Neither ought we to admit those men or their accusations, that secular laws reject. (For who doubts that human laws, when they are not inconsistent with reason and honour, are to be embraced, especially when they either further the public good or defend the authority of the ecclesiastical office, and uphold it as a help?) And we call those blood-relations whom divine laws, and those of the emperors, both Roman and Greek, name blood-relations, and whom they admit to the right of inheriting, and cannot exclude from that. Marriages, then, between such are neither lawful nor capable of holding good, but are to be rejected. (And if any such are attempted in rash daring, they come to be rescinded by apostolic authority.)

¹ Matt. x. 23.

V.

[Of those who ought not to be admitted to prefer an accusation, or to bear witness ; and that evidence is not to be given but on things happening in the person's presence.]

Whosoever, therefore, has not been lawfully married, or has been united without the dotal title (*dotali titulo*) and the blessing of a priest, cannot by any means bring a charge against priests, or those who are lawfully married, or bear witness against them, since every one who is polluted with the stain of incest is infamous, and is not allowed to accuse the above-named. And consequently not only they, but all those too who agree with them, are to be rejected, and are rendered infamous. We hold that the same should also be the case with robbers, or with those who assault the elderly. The laws of the world, indeed, put such persons to death ; but we, with whom mercy has the first place, receive them under the mark of infamy to repentance. That infamy also with which they are stained, we are not able to remove ; but our desire is to heal their souls by public penitence, and by satisfaction made to the church : for public sins are not to be purged by secret correction. Those, again, who are suspected in the matter of the right faith, should by no means be admitted to prefer charges against priests, and against those of whose faith there is no doubt ; and such persons should be held of doubtful authority in matters of human testimony. Their voice, consequently, should be reckoned invalid whose faith is doubted ; and no credit should be given to those who are ignorant of the right faith. Accordingly, in judgment, inquiry should be made as to the conversation and faith of the person who accuses, and of him who is accused ; since those who are not of correct conversation and faith, and whose life is open to impeachment, are not allowed to accuse their elders, neither can such permission be given to those whose faith and life and liberty are unknown. Nor should vile persons be admitted to accuse them. But a clear examination is to be made as to what kind of persons the accusers are (*rimandæ sunt enucleatim personæ*

accusatorum) ; for they are not to be admitted readily without writing, and are never to be admitted (as accusers) on mere writing. For no one may either accuse or be accused by mere writing, but with the living voice ; and every one must lay his accusation in the presence of him whom he seeks to accuse. And no credit should be given to any accuser in the absence of him whom he seeks to accuse. In like manner, witnesses must not prefer their evidence by writing only ; but they must give their testimony truthfully in their own persons, and in matters which they have seen and do know. And they are not to give evidence in any other cases or matters but in those which are known to have happened in their presence. Accusers, moreover, of one blood, are not to bear witness against those who are not related to the family, nor is that to be the case with domestics (*familiares*) or those proceeding from the house ; but if it is their wish, and they agree among themselves, the parents only should give evidence in such cases, and not others. Neither accusers nor witnesses should be admitted who are open to any suspicion ; for the feeling of relationship, or friendship, or lordship, is wont to impede the truth. Carnal love, and fear, and avarice, commonly blunt the perceptions of men, and pervert their opinions ; so that they look on gain as godliness, and on money as the reward of prudence. Let no one, then, speak deceitfully to his neighbour.¹ The mouth of the malevolent is a deep pit. The innocent man, while he believes easily, falls readily ; but though he falls, he rises ; and the shuffler, with all his arts, goes headlong to ruin, whence he can never rise or escape. Therefore let every one weigh well his words, and let him not say to another what he would not say to himself. Whence the sacred Scripture says well : “ Do not that to another which thou wouldest not have done to thyself.”² For we need time to do anything perfectly (*maturius*) ; and let us not be precipitate in our counsels or our works, neither let us violate order. But if any one has fallen in anything, let us not consign him to ruin ; but let us reprove him with brotherly affection, as the blessed apostle says : “ If a man be overtaken in any

¹ Ps. xxiv. 4.

² Cf. Tobit iv. 15.

fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burden, and so will ye fulfil the law of Christ."¹ Furthermore, the sainted David had deadly crimes to repent of, and yet he was continued in honour. The blessed Peter also shed the bitterest tears when he repented of having denied the Lord; but still he abode an apostle. And the Lord by the prophet makes this promise to the sinner: "In the day that the sinner is converted, and repenteth, I will not mention any more against him all his transgressions."²

VI.

[As to whether a priest may minister after a lapse.]

For those are in error who think that the priests of the Lord, after a lapse, although they may have exhibited true repentance, are not capable of ministering to the Lord, and engaging their honourable offices, though they may lead a good life thereafter, and keep their priesthood correctly. And those who hold this opinion are not only in error, but also seem to dispute and act in opposition to (the power of) the keys committed to the church, whereof it is said: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."³ And in short, this opinion either is not the Lord's, or it is true. But (be that as it may) we believe without hesitation, that both the priests of the Lord and other believers may return to their honours after a proper satisfaction for their error, as the Lord Himself testifies by His prophet: "Shall he who falls not also rise again? and shall he who turns away not return?"⁴ And in another passage the Lord says: "I desire not the death of the sinner, but that he may turn, and live."⁵ And the prophet David, on his repentance, said: "Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and uphold me with Thy free Spirit."⁶ And he indeed, after his repentance, taught others also, and offered

¹ Gal. vi. 1, 4.

² Ezek. xviii. 21, 22.

³ Matt. xviii. 18.

⁴ Jer. viii. 4.

⁵ Ezek. xviii. 32 and xxxiii. 11.

⁶ Ps. li. 12.

sacrifice to God, giving thereby an example to the teachers of the holy church, that if they have fallen, and thereafter have exhibited a right repentance to God, they may do both things in like manner. For he taught when he said: "I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."¹ And he offered sacrifice for himself, while he said: "The sacrifice for God is a broken spirit."² For the prophet, seeing his own transgressions purged by repentance, had no doubt as to healing those of others by preaching, and by making offering to God. Thus the shedding of tears moves the mind's feeling (*passionem*). And when the satisfaction is made good, the mind is turned aside from anger. For how does that man think that mercy will be shown to himself, who does not forgive his neighbour? If offences abound, then, let mercy also abound; for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption.³ In the Lord's hand there is abundance of all things, because He is the Lord of powers (*virtutum*) and the King of glory.⁴ For the apostle says: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, *I say*, at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."⁵ And David says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered."⁶ Man, therefore, is cleansed of his sin, and rises again by the grace of God though he has fallen, and abides in his first position, according to the above-cited authorities. Let him see to it that he sin no more, that the sentence of the Gospel may abide in him: "Go, and sin no more."⁷ Whence the apostle says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof: neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteous-

¹ Ps. li. 13.² Ps. li. 17.³ Ps. cxxx. 7.⁴ Ps. xxiv. 10.⁵ Rom. iii. 23-26.⁶ Ps. xxxii. 1.⁷ John viii. 11

ness unto sin : but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have dominion over you : for ye are not under the law, but under grace. What then ? shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace ? God forbid. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey ; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness ? But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin ; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men.”¹ For greater is the sin of him who judgeth, than of him who is judged. “Thinkest thou,” says the apostle, “O man, that judgest them that do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God ? or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering ? Dost thou not know that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance ? But, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God ; who will render to every man according to his deeds : to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life ; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and (also) of the Greek : but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good.”² My brethren, shun not only the holding, but even the hearing, of the judgment that bans mercy ; for better is mercy than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.³ We have replied to your interrogations shortly, because your letter found us burdened overmuch, and preoccupied with other judgments. Given on the 8th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander.”⁴

¹ Rom. vi. 12-19.

² Rom. iii. 3-10.

³ Mark xii. 33.

⁴ In the year 222.

THE EPISTLE OF POPE URBAN FIRST.

TO ALL CHRISTIANS.

URBAN was the successor of Callistus. The letter ascribed to him is one of the pseudo-Isidorian forgeries. X

[Mansi, *Concil. Collect.* i. p. 748.]

Of the church's receiving only the property of the faithful, and not the price of the same, as in the times of the apostles; and as to why elevated seats should be prepared in the churches for the bishops; and as to the fact that no one should have intercourse with those whom the bishops excommunicate, and that no one should receive those whom they have cast out in any manner whatever.

1. Of the life in common, and of the reason why the church has begun to hold property.
2. Of the persons by whom, and the uses for which, ecclesiastical property should be managed, and of the invaders thereof.
3. As to any one's attempting to take from the church the right of holding property.
4. Of the seats of the bishops.
5. That no one should have intercourse with those with whom the bishop has no intercourse, or receive those whom he rejects.
6. Of the engagement made in baptism, and of those who have given themselves to the life in common.
7. Of the imposition of the bishop's hand.



URBAN, bishop, to all Christians, in sanctification of the spirit, in obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, greeting.

It becomes all Christians, most dearly beloved, to imitate Him whose name they have received. "What doth it profit, my brethren," says the Apostle James, "though

a man say he hath faith, and have not works?"¹ "My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that ye receive (*sumitis*) the greater condemnation; for in many things we offend all."² "Let him who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you, show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom."³

I.

We know that you are not ignorant of the fact that hitherto the principle of living with all things in common has been in vigorous operation among good Christians, and is still so by the grace of God; and most of all among those who have been chosen to the lot of the Lord, that is to say, the clergy, even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, the son of consolation), a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet;"⁴ and so forth. Accordingly, as the chief priests and others, and the Levites, and the rest of the faithful, perceived that it might be of more advantage if they handed over to the churches over which the bishops presided the heritages and fields which they were in the way of selling, inasmuch as they might furnish a larger and better maintenance for the faithful who hold the common faith, not only in present but also in future times, out of the revenues of such property than out

¹ Jas. ii. 14.² Jas. iii. 1, 2.³ Jas. iii. 13.⁴ Acts iv. 32-37.

of the money for which they might at once be sold, they began to consign to the mother churches the property and lands which they were wont to sell, and got into the manner of living on the revenues of these.

II.

The property, moreover, in the possession of the several parishes was left in the hands of the bishops, who hold the place of the apostles; and it is so to this day, and ought to be so in all future time. And out of those possessions the bishops and the faithful as their stewards ought to furnish to all who wish to enter the life in common all necessities as they best can, so that none may be found in want among them. For the possessions of the faithful are also called oblations, because they are offered to the Lord. They ought not therefore to be turned to any other uses than those of the church, and in behoof of Christian brethren before mentioned, and of the poor; for they are the offerings of the faithful, and they are redemption moneys for sins (*pretia peccatorum*), and the patrimony of the poor, and are given over to the Lord for the purpose already named. But if any one act otherwise (which may God forbid), let him take care lest he meet the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira, and be found guilty of sacrilege, as those were who lied as to the price of the property designated, of whom we read thus in the before-cited passage of the Acts of the Apostles: "But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold land (*agrum*), and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter said to Ananias, Why hath Satan tempted (*tentavit*) thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whiles it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto the Lord. And Ananias, hearing these words, fell down, and gave up the ghost. And great fear came on all them that heard [these things]. And the young men arose, and removed him (*amoverunt*), and

carried him out, and buried him. And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, and said, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost. And the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon all the church, and upon as many as heard these things.”¹ These things, brethren, are carefully to be guarded against, and greatly to be feared. For the property of the church, not being like personal, but like common property, and property offered to the Lord, is to be dispensed with the deepest fear, in the spirit of faithfulness, and for no other objects than the above-named, lest those should incur the guilt of sacrilege who divert it from the hands to which it was consigned, and lest they should come under the punishment and death of Ananias and Sapphira, and lest (which is yet worse) they should become anathema maranatha, and lest, though their body may not fall dead like that of Ananias and Sapphira, their soul, which is nobler than the body, should fall dead, and be cut off from the company of the faithful, and sink into the depths of the pit. Wherefore all must give heed to this matter, and watch in faithfulness, and avert the dishonour of such usurpation, lest possessions dedicated to the uses of things secret (or sacred) and heavenly be spoiled by any parties invading them. And if any one do so, then, after the sharp vengeance which is due to such a crime, and which is justly to be carried out against the sacrilegious, let him be condemned to perpetual infamy, and cast into prison or consigned to life-long exile. For, according to the apostle,² we ought to deliver such a man to Satan, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

¹ Acts v. 1-11.² 1 Cor. v. 5.

III.

By the increase, therefore, and the mode of life which have been mentioned, the churches over which the bishops preside have grown so greatly with the help of the Lord, and the greater part of them are now in possession of so much property, that among them there is not a man who, selecting the life in common, is kept in poverty; but such an one receives all necessaries from the bishop and his ministers. Therefore, if any one in modern or in future times shall rise up and attempt to divert that property, let him be smitten with the judgment which has been already mentioned.

IV.

Furthermore, as to the fact that in the churches of the bishops there are found elevated seats set up and prepared like a throne, they show by these that the power of inspection and of judging, and the authority to loose and bind, are given to them by the Lord. Whence the Saviour Himself says in the Gospel, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."¹ And elsewhere: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."²

V.

These things, then, we have set before you, most dearly beloved, in order that ye may understand the power of your bishops, and give reverence to God in them, and love them as your own souls; and in order that ye may have no communication with those with whom they have none, and that ye may not receive those whom they have cast out. For the judgment of a bishop is greatly to be feared, although he may bind one unjustly, which, however, he ought to guard against with the utmost care.

¹ Matt. xviii. 18.² John xx. 22, 23.

VI.

And in exhorting you, we also admonish all who have embraced the faith of Christ, and who have taken from Christ the name of Christian, that ye make your Christianity vain in no respect, but keep stedfastly the engagement which ye took upon yourselves in baptism, so that ye may be found not reprobate, but worthy in His presence. And if any one of you has entered the life which has all things common, and has taken the vow to hold no private property, let him see to it that he make not his promise vain, but let him keep with all faithfulness this engagement which he has made to the Lord, so that he may acquire for himself not damnation, but a reward; for it is better for a man not to take a vow at all, than not to discharge to the best of his ability the vow that he has made. For they who have made a vow, or taken on them the faith, and have not kept their vow, or have carried out their life in things evil, are punished more severely than those who have carried out their life without a vow, or have died without faith, but not without doing good works. For to this end have we received a reasonable mind by the gift of nature, and the renewal also of the second birth, that, according to the apostle, we may discern (*sapiamus*) rather things above, and not things on the earth;¹ for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.² For to what, most dearly beloved, does the wisdom of this world urge us, but to seek things that are hurtful, and to love things that are to perish, and to neglect things that are healthful, and to esteem as of no value things that are lasting? It commends the love of money, of which it is said, The love of money is the root of all evil;³ and which has this evil in especial, that while it obtrudes the transitory, it hides from view the eternal; and while it looks on things that are outside, it does not look in upon things that lurk within; and while it seeks after strange things, it is an evil that makes itself strange to him who does it.⁴ Behold, to what does the wisdom of this world urge a

¹ Col. iii. 2.² 1 Cor. iii. 19.³ 1 Tim. vi. 10.⁴ "Sectatori," for which read "factori."

man? To live in pleasures. Whence it is said: A widow that liveth in pleasure, is dead while she liveth.¹ It urges a man to feed the flesh with the softest delights, with sins, and vices, and flames, to press the soul with intemperance in food and wine, and to check the life of the spirit, and to put into his enemy's hand the sword to be used against himself. Behold, what is the counsel which the wisdom of this world gives? That those who are good should choose rather to be evil, and that in error of mind they should be zealous to be sinners, and should not bethink themselves of that terrible voice of God, when the wicked shall be burned up like grass.²

VII.

For all the faithful ought to receive the Holy Spirit after baptism by imposition of the hand of the bishops, so that they may be found to be Christians fully; because when the Holy Spirit is shed upon them, the believing heart is enlarged for prudence and stedfastness. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be made spiritual; for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.³ We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be wise to discern between good and evil, to love the just, and to loathe the unjust, so as to withstand malice and pride, and resist luxury and divers allurements, and impure and unworthy lust. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that, fired with the love of life and the ardour of glory, we may be able to raise our mind from things earthly to things heavenly and divine.—Given on the Nones of September,—that is, on the fifth day of the same month, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander.

¹ 1 Tim. v. 6.² Ps. xcii. 7.³ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

THE EXTANT WRITINGS OF ASTERIUS URBANUS:

BEING FRAGMENTS OF THREE BOOKS TO ABERCIUS
MARCELLUS AGAINST THE MONTANISTS.

NOTHING is known of Asterius Urbanus. The name occurs in Fragment iv., translated in p. 228; and from the allusion made to him there, some have inferred that he was the author of the work against the Montanists, from which Eusebius has made these extracts. The inference is unfounded. There is no clue to the authorship. It has been attributed by different critics to Apollinaris, Apollonius, and Rhodon.

[Gallandi, vol. iii. p. 273, from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. ch. 16, 17.]

I. THE EXORDIUM.



HAVING now for a very long and surely a very sufficient period had the charge pressed upon me by thee, my dear Avircius¹ Marcellus, to write some sort of treatise against the heresy that bears the name of Miltiades,² I have somehow been very

¹ The manuscripts write the name 'Αουίρκιος, Avircius; but Nicephorus (book iv.) gives it as 'Αβέρκιος, Abercius.

² Nicephorus adds ἵσον δ' εἰπεῖν Μοντανόν, which seems, however, to be but a scholium. It may appear difficult to account for the fact that the name of Miltiades rather than that of Montanus is associated with the heresy of the Cataphrygians, and some consequently have conjectured that we should read here *Alcibiades*, as that is a name mentioned in con-

doubtfully disposed toward the task up till now ; not that I felt any difficulty in refuting the falsehood, and in bearing my testimony to the truth, but that I was apprehensive and fearful lest I should appear to any to be adding some new word or precept¹ to the doctrine of the gospel of the New Testament, with respect to which indeed it is not possible for one who has chosen to have his manner of life in accordance with the gospel itself, either to add anything to it or to take away anything from it. Being recently, however, at Ancyra, a town of Galatia, and finding the church in Pontus² greatly agitated³ by this new prophecy, as they call it, but which should rather be called this false prophecy, as shall be shown presently, I discoursed to the best of my ability, with the help of God, for many days in the church, both on these subjects and on various others⁴ which were brought under my notice by them. And this I did in such manner that the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, while the adversaries⁵ were forthwith routed, and the opponents put to grief. And the presbyters of the place accordingly requested us to leave behind us some memorandum of the things which we alleged in opposition to the adversaries of the truth, there being present also our fellow-presbyter Zoticus Otrenus.⁶ This, however, we did not ; but we promised, if the Lord gave us opportunity, to write down the matters here, and send them to them with all speed.

II. FROM BOOK I.

Now the attitude of opposition (*ένστασις*) which they have

cert with Montanus and Theodotus in Euseb. v. 3. In the Muratorian fragment, however, as given above among the writings of Caius, we find again a Miltiades named among the heretics.

¹ *ἐπισυνγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι.*

² *κατὰ πόντον.* But the Codex Regius reads *κατὰ τόπον*, the church of the place, i.e. the church of Ancyra itself. This reading is confirmed by Nicephorus, book iv. 23, and is adopted by the Latin interpreter.

³ *διατεθρυλλημένην*, ringing with it, deafened by it.

⁴ *ἐκαστά τε.* Others propose *ἐκάστοτε*, constantly, daily.

⁵ *ἀντιθέτους.* Others read *ἀντιθέους*, the enemies of God.

⁶ *Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὁσσηνοῦ.* Nicephorus reads *Ὁσσηνοῦ.*

assumed, and this new heresy of theirs which puts them in a position of separation from the church, had their origin in the following manner. There is said to be a certain village called Ardaba¹ in the Mysia, which touches Phrygia.² There, they say, one of those who had been but recently converted to the faith, a person of the name of Montanus, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, gave the adversary entrance against himself by the excessive lust of his soul after taking the lead. And this person was carried away in spirit (πνευματοφορηθῆναι); and suddenly being seized with a kind of frenzy and ecstasy, he raved, and began to speak and to utter strange things, and to prophesy in a manner contrary to the custom of the church, as handed down from early times and preserved thenceforward in a continuous succession. And among those who were present on that occasion, and heard those spurious utterances, there were some who were indignant, and rebuked him as one frenzied, and under the power of demons, and possessed by the spirit of delusion, and agitating the multitude, and debarred him from speaking any more; for they were mindful of the Lord's distinction (διαστολῆς) and threatening, whereby He warned them to be on their guard vigilantly against the coming of the false prophets. But there were others too, who, as if elated by the Holy Spirit and the prophetic gift, and not a little puffed up, and forgetting entirely the Lord's distinction, challenged the maddening and insidious and seductive spirit, being themselves cajoled and misled by him, so that there was no longer any checking him (and reducing him) to silence (εἰς τὸ μηκέτι κωλύεσθαι σιωπᾶν). And thus by a kind of artifice, or rather by such a process of craft, the devil having devised destruction against those who were disobedient [to the Lord's warning], and being unworthily honoured by them, secretly

¹ Ἀρδαβαῦ. One codex makes it Ἀρδαβαῖβ.

² ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ. Rufinus renders it, *apud Phrygiam Mysiæ civitatem*; others render it, *apud Mysiam Phrygiæ*; Migne takes it as defining this Mysia to be the Asiatic one, in distinction from the European territory, which the Latins called Moesia, but the Greeks also Μυσία.

excited and inflamed their minds that had already left the faith which is according to truth, in order to play the harlot with error.¹ For he stirred up two others also, women, and filled them with the spurious spirit, so that they too spoke in a frenzy and unseasonably, and in a strange manner, like the person already mentioned, while the spirit called them happy as they rejoiced and exulted proudly at his working, and puffed them up by the magnitude of his promises ; while, on the other hand, at times also he condemned them skilfully and plausibly, in order that he might seem to them also to have the power of reproof.² And those few who were thus deluded were Phrygians. But the same arrogant spirit taught them to revile the church universal under heaven, because that false spirit of prophecy found neither honour from it nor entrance into it. For when the faithful throughout Asia met together often and in many places of Asia for deliberation on this subject, and subjected those novel doctrines to examination, and declared them to be spurious, and rejected them as heretical, they were in consequence of that expelled from the church and debarred from communion.

III. FROM BOOK II.

Wherefore, since they stigmatized us as slayers of the prophets because we did not receive their loquacious (*ἀμετροφώνους*³) prophets (for they say that these are they whom the Lord promised to send to the people), let them answer us in the name of God, and tell us, O friends, whether there is any one among those who began to speak from Montanus and the women onward that was persecuted by the Jews or

¹ τὴν ἀποκεκοιμημένην, etc. ; the verb being used literally of the wife who proves false to her marriage vow.

² ἐλεγκτικόν. Montanus, that is to say, or the demon that spake by Montanus, knew that it had been said of old by the Lord, that when the Spirit came He would convince or reprove the world of sin ; and hence this false spirit, with the view of confirming his hearers in the belief that he was the true Spirit of God, sometimes rebuked and condemned them. See a passage in Ambrose's *Epistle to the Thessal.* ch. v. (Migne).

³ So Homer in the *Iliad* calls Thersites *ἀμετροσπῆς*, unbridled of tongue, and thus also *mendacious*.

put to death by the wicked? There is not one. Not even one of them is there who was seized and crucified for the name¹ [of Christ]. No; certainly not. Neither assuredly was there one of these women who was ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned. No; never anywhere. It is indeed by another kind of death that Montanus and Maximilla are said to have met their end. For the report is, that by the instigation of that maddening spirit both of them hung themselves; not together indeed, but at the particular time of the death of each (κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἑκαστοῦ τελευτῆς καιρόν), as the common story goes. And thus they died, and finished their life like the traitor Judas. Thus, also, the general report gives it that Theodotus—that astonishing person—who was, so to speak, the first procurator² of their so-called prophecy, and who, as if he were sometime taken up and received into the heavens, fell into spurious ecstasies (παρεκστῆναι), and gave himself wholly over to the spirit of delusion—was at last tossed by him (δισκευθέντα, pitched like a quoit) into the air, and met his end miserably. People say then that this took place in the way we have stated. But as we did not see³ them ourselves, we do not presume to think that we know any of these things with certainty. And it may therefore have been in this way perhaps, and perhaps in some other way, that Montanus and Theodotus and the woman mentioned above perished.

IV.

And let not the spirit of Maximilla say (as it is found in the same book of Asterius Urbanus⁴), “I am chased like a wolf

¹ τοῦ ἐνόματος. Nicephorus reads τοῦ νόμου, for the law.

² οἶον ἐπίτροπον. Rufinus renders it, “veluti primogenitum prophetiæ ipsorum.” Migne takes it as meaning *steward*, manager of a common fund established among the Montanists for the support of their prophets. Eusebius (v. 18) quotes Apollonius as saying of Montanus, that he *established exactors of money, and provided salaries for those who preached his doctrine*.

³ The text is, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄνευ. But in various codices we have the more correct reading, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄνευ.

⁴ These words are apparently a scholium, which Eusebius himself or

from the sheep ; I am no wolf. I am word, and spirit, and power." But let him clearly exhibit and prove the power in the spirit. And by the spirit let him constrain to a confession those who were present at that time for the very purpose of trying and holding converse with the talkative spirit—those men so highly reputed as men and bishops—namely, Zoticus of the village of Comana,¹ and Julian of Apamea, whose mouths Themison² and his followers bridled, and prevented the false and seductive spirit from being confuted by them.

V.

And has not the falsity of this also been made manifest already ? For it is now upwards of thirteen years since the woman died, and there has arisen neither a partial nor a universal war in the world. Nay, rather there has been steady and continued peace to the Christians by the mercy of God.

VI. FROM BOOK III.

But as they have been refuted in all their allegations, and are thus at a loss what to say, they try to take refuge in their martyrs. For they say that they have many martyrs, and that this is a sure proof of the power of their so-called prophetic spirit. But this allegation, as it seems, carries not a whit more truth with it than the others. For indeed some of the other heresies have also a great multitude of martyrs ; but yet certainly we shall not on that account agree with

some old commentator had written on the margin of his copy. We gather also from them that Asterius Urbanus was credited with the authorship of these three books, and not Apollinaris, as some have supposed.

¹ Comana seems to have been a town of Pamphylia. At least a bishop of Comana is mentioned in the epistle of the bishops of Pamphylia to Leo Augustus, cited in the third part of the *Council of Chalcedon*, p. 391.

² Themison was a person of note among the Montanists, who boasted of himself as a confessor and martyr, and had the audacity to write a catholic epistle to the churches like an apostle, with the view of commending the new prophecy to them. See Euseb. v. 18.

them, neither shall we acknowledge that they have truth in them. And those first heretics, who from the heresy of Marcion are called Marcionites, allege that they have a great multitude of martyrs for Christ. But yet they do not confess Christ Himself according to truth.

VII.

Hence, also, whenever those who have been called to martyrdom for the true faith by the church happen to fall in with any of those so-called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they always separate from them, and die without having fellowship with them, because they do not choose to give their assent to the spirit of Montanus and the women. And that this is truly the case, and that it has actually taken place in our own times at Apamea, a town on the Mæander, in the case of those who suffered martyrdom with Caius¹ and Alexander, natives of Eumenia, is clear to all.

VIII.

As I found these things in a certain writing of theirs directed against the writing of our brother Alcibiades,² in which he proves the impropriety of a prophet's speaking in ecstasy, I made an abridgment of that work.

IX.

But the false prophet falls into a spurious ecstasy, which is accompanied by a want of all shame and fear. For beginning with a voluntary (designed) rudeness, he ends with an involuntary madness of soul, as has been already stated. But they will never be able to show that any one of the Old Testament prophets, or any one of the New, was carried away in spirit after this fashion. Nor will they be able to boast that Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of

¹ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γάϊον . . . μαρτυρήσασιν. It may be intended for, "in the case of the martyrs Caius and Alexander."

² Migne is of opinion that there has been an interchange of names between this passage and the Exordium, and that we should read Miltiades here, and Alcibiades there. But see the note to the Exordium.

Philip, or [the woman] Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or indeed any of the others who do not in any respect belong to them, were moved in this way.

X.

For if, after Quadratus and the woman Ammia in Philadelphia, as they say, the women who attached themselves to Montanus succeeded to the gift of prophecy, let them show us which of them thus succeeded Montanus and his women. For the apostle deems that the gift of prophecy should abide in all the church up to the time of the final advent. But they will not be able to show the gift to be in their possession even at the present time, which is the fourteenth year only from the death of Maximilla.¹

¹ This seems to be the sense of the text, which appears to be imperfect here: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ἤδη πον τοῦτο ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης τελευτῆς.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE PONTIANUS.

EUSEBIUS tells us that Pontianus was bishop of the Roman church five or six years [230-235 A.D.]. He succeeded Urbanus. The letters are the forgeries of the pseudo-Isidorus.

(Mansi, *Concil. Collect.* i. 735.)

THE FIRST EPISTLE.

TO FELIX SUBSCRIBONIUS.

On the honour to be bestowed on priests.



PONTIANUS, bishop, to Felix Subscribonius, greeting.

Our heart is exceedingly rejoiced with your goodness, in that you strive by all means in your power to carry out the practice of holy religion, and strengthen sad and destitute brethren in faith and religion. Wherefore we implore the mercy of our Redeemer, that His grace may support us in all things, and that He may grant us to carry out in effect what He has given us to aspire after. In this good thing, therefore, the benefits of recompense are multiplied just in proportion as our zeal for the work increases. And because in all these things we need the assistance of divine grace, we implore with constant prayers the clemency of Omnipotent God, that He may both grant us the desire for these good works which should ever be wrought by us, and give us power also to perform them, and direct us in that way, for the fruit of well-doing—which [way] the Pastor of pastors declared Himself to be—so that ye may be able to carry out through Him, without whom nothing can be done,

those good works which you have begun. Moreover, with respect to the priests of the Lord whom we have heard you aid against the plots of wicked men, and whose cause you sustain, know ye that in so doing ye please God greatly, who has called them to the service of Himself, and has honoured them with so intimate a fellowship with Him, that through them He accepts the oblations of others, and pardons their sins, and reconciles them with Him. They also make the body of the Lord with their own mouth (*proprio ore corpus Domini conficiunt*), and give it to the people. For of them it is said: He that hurteth you, hurteth me; and he that doeth you an injury, shall receive again that which he hath done unrighteously.¹ And elsewhere: He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me.² Hence they are not to be molested, but honoured. And in them the Lord Himself is honoured, whose commission they execute. They accordingly, if they happen to fall, are to be raised up and sustained by the faithful. And again, they are not to be accused by the infamous, or the wicked, or the hostile, or by the members of another sect or religion. If they sin, they are to be arraigned by the other priests; further, they are to be held in check (*constringantur*) by the chief pontiffs, and they are not to be arraigned or restrained by seculars or by men of evil life. Not slight, therefore, is our grief in hearing that you have to sorrow for your brother's passing away (*transitu*). For which reason we beseech Almighty God to console you by the breathing (*aspiratione*) of His grace, and keep you with heavenly guardianship from evil spirits and perverse men. For if ye have to bear any turmoil of certain adversaries after his decease, do not think it strange though ye, who seek to enjoy good in your own country—that is, in the land of the living—have to bear evil things at the hands of men in a strange country. For the present life is a sojourning; and to him who sighs after the true fatherland, the place of his sojourning is a trial, however pleasant it may seem. And as to you who seek the fatherland, among the

¹ Perhaps Zech. ii. 8.

² Luke x. 16.

sighs which ye heave I hear the groans also of human oppression rising. And this happens by the wonderful dispensation of Almighty God, in order that, while the truth calls you in love, this present world may cast back your affection from itself through the tribulations which it brings on, and that the mind may be so much the more easily delivered from the love of this world, as it is also impelled while it is called. Therefore, as you have begun, give heed to the duty of hospitality; labour most urgently in prayer and tears; devote yourselves more liberally and freely now to those almsgivings which you have ever loved, in order that in the recompense the profit to you for your work may be greater in proportion as your zeal for the labour has risen to higher degrees here.

Furthermore, hailing your goodness with paternal pleasantness, we beg you not to fail in the good works which ye have begun. And may no one be able to turn you from them; but may the clergy and servants of God, and all Christians who sojourn in those parts, fully discover by the love of Christ and Saint Peter the disposition of your charity in all things, and obtain the comforts of your favour in every necessity that may arise; to the end that all may be defended and helped by your aid, and that we, too, may owe you thanks, and that our Lord Jesus Christ may make good [to you] eternal glory, and that the blessed Apostle Peter, the chief of the apostles, in whose cause you spend yourselves, may open the gate of that same glory.—Given on the 10th day before the kalends of February (the 23d of January), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.¹

THE SECOND EPISTLE.

TO ALL BISHOPS.

On brotherly love, and on avoiding the evil.

PONTIANUS, bishop of the holy and universal church, to all who worship the Lord aright, and love the divine worship, greeting.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of

¹ In the year 235.

good will.¹ These words, most beloved, are not the words of men, but of angels; and they were not devised by human sense, but were uttered by angels at the birth of the Saviour. And from these words it can be understood without doubt by all that peace is given by the Lord, not to men of evil will, but to men of good will. Whence the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says: "How good is God to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart! But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps had well-nigh slipped: for I was envious at the unrighteous, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked."² Of the good, however, the Truth says in His own person, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."³ And they are not the pure in heart who think evil things, or things hurtful to their brethren; for he who is the faithful man devises nothing evil. The faithful man, accordingly, loves rather to hear things which are becoming, than to speak things which are not becoming. And if any one is faithful, let him see to it that he speak no evil, and lay no snares in the way of any one. In this, then, are the children of God distinguished from the children of the devil. For the children of God always think and strive to do things which are of God, and give help unceasingly to their brethren, and wish to injure no one. But, on the other hand, the children of the devil are always meditating things evil and hurtful, because their deeds are evil. And of them the Lord, speaking by the prophet Jeremiah, says: "I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness."⁴ "Wherefore I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord; and with your children's children will I plead."⁵ "Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you."⁶ These things, brethren, are greatly to be feared, and to be guarded against by all; for the man on whom the judgment of God may fall will not depart unhurt. And therefore let every one see to it carefully that he neither contrive nor do against a brother what he would not wish to have to endure himself. And let not the man of faith come under the suspicion even

¹ Luke ii. 14.² Ps. lxxiii. 1-3.³ Matt. v. 8.⁴ Jer. i. 16.⁵ Jer. ii. 9.⁶ Jer. xviii. 11.

of saying or doing what he would not wish to have to endure himself. Wherefore persons suspected, or hostile or litigious, and those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, and those who do not hold and teach the right faith, have been debarred from being either accusers or witnesses by our predecessors with apostolic authority; and we too remove them from that function, and exclude them from it in times to come, lest those lapse wilfully whom we ought to keep in and save; lest not only (which may God forbid!) the predicted judgment of God should fall upon both, but we also should perish (which may God forbid!) through their fault. For it is written, "Have they made thee the master [of a feast]? Take care for them, that thou mayst be merry on their account, and receive as thy crown the ornament of esteem, and find approbation of thine election."¹ For the evil word affects the heart, out of which proceed these four objects, good and evil, life and death; and the tongue in its assiduous action is what determines these. Wherefore the before-named parties are altogether to be avoided; and until the before-noted matters are investigated, and the parties are found to be clear of such, they are not to be received: for the right sacrifice is to give heed to the commandments, and to depart from all iniquity. "To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord, and to forsake unrighteousness is [a sacrifice of] praise."² For it is written, "Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he who destroys (loseth) the friendship of his neighbour. And as one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou that hast let thy neighbour go and shalt not get him again. Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he has escaped like a roe out of the snare, because his soul is wounded. Thou wilt not be able to bind him any more, and there is reconciliation for the reviled. But to bewray the secrets of a friend is the desperation of a wretched soul. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and no one will cast him off. When thou art present, he will

¹ Ecclus. xxxii. 1-3.² Ecclus. xxxv. 1-3.

despise his own mouth, and express his wonder at thy discourse; but at the last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head, and a deceitful stroke of the deceitful will make wounds. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that setteth a stone in his neighbour's way will fall thereon; and he that placeth a snare for another will perish therein. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach are from the proud; and vengeance, as a lion, shall be in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall perish in the snare, and anguish shall consume them before they die. Anger and wrath are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both."¹ "He that will be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, and then shall thy sins be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another; and doth he ask redress of God? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of the Most High for his own sins? He, though he is flesh, nourisheth hatred; and doth he ask pardon of God? Who will entreat for his sins? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; for corruption and death impend on commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbour. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and look down upon (*despice*) the ignorance of thy neighbour. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins. For a furious man kindleth strife; and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and make enmity among them that be at peace. For even as the trees of the wood are, so will the fire burn; and as a man's strength is, so will his anger be; and as his riches are, so will he make his anger rise. An hastened contention will kindle a fire, and an hasting quarrel will shed blood, and a testifying (*testificans*) tongue will bring death. If thou blow upon the spark,

¹ Eccclus. xxvii. 17-30.

it will burn like a fire; and if thou spit upon it, it will be extinguished: and both these come out of the mouth. Cursed be the whisperer and double-tongued, for such have troubled many that were at peace. A third (*tertia*) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation: the fortified cities of the rich it hath pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It has subverted the virtues of peoples, and has destroyed strong nations. A third tongue hath cast out truthful¹ women, and deprived them of their labours. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly. The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue will break bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not in such manner as those who have perished by their tongue. Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, who hath not passed into the anger thereof, and who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound with the bands of it; for the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the band thereof is a band of brass. The death thereof is the vilest death, and the grave were better than it. The perseverance thereof shall not abide; but it shall hold the ways of the unrighteous, and its flame shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it, and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and hurt them as a leopard. Hedge thine ears about with thorns, and listen not to the evil tongue; and make a door for thy mouth, and bars for thine ears. Smelt (*confla*) thy gold and silver, and make a balance for thy words, and right curbs for thy mouth. And beware that thou slide not perchance in thy tongue, and fall before thine enemies that lie in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable even to death.”² “Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day. For suddenly shall His wrath come, and in the time of vengeance He will destroy thee. Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten, for they shall not profit thee in the day of veiling (for execution, *obductionis*) and vengeance. Move not with every wind, and go not into every way; for so is

¹ Veridicas. The text reads “viratas.”

² Ecclus. xxviii.

the sinner proved with the double-tongue. Be stedfast in the way of the Lord, and in the truth of thine understanding, and in knowledge; and let the word of peace and righteousness attend thee. Be courteous in hearing the word, that thou mayest understand it, and with wisdom give a true answer. If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, lest thou be caught in a word of folly, and be confounded. Honour and glory are in the talk of the intelligent man; the tongue of the unwise is his fall. Be not called a whisperer, and be not caught in thy tongue, and confounded. For confusion and penitence are upon the thief, and the worst condemnation upon the double-tongued. Moreover, for the whisperer there is hatred, and enmity, and shame. Justify the small and the great alike.”¹ “Instead of a friend, become not an enemy to thy neighbour. For the evil man shall inherit reproach and shame, and every sinner in like manner that is envious and double-tongued. Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart as a bull, lest perchance thy virtue be shattered in folly, and it consume thy leaves, and destroy thy fruits, and thou be left as a dry tree in the desert. For a wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and makes him to be laughed to scorn by his enemies, and shall bring him down to the lot of the impious.”² Most dearly beloved, study to lift up the oppressed, and always help the necessitous; for if a man relieves an afflicted brother, delivers a captive, or consoles a mourner, let him have no doubt that that will be recompensed to him by Him on whom he bestows it all, and who says: “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”³ Strive, then, unceasingly to do what is good in such wise that ye may both obtain the fruit of good works here, and enjoy the favour of God in the future, to the intent that hereafter ye may be worthy to enter the court of the heavenly kingdom.—Given on the fourth day before the kalends of May (the 28th of April), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.

¹ Ecclus. v. 7-18.

² Ecclus. vi. 1-4.

³ Matt. xxv. 40.

POPE ANTERUS.

ANTERUS succeeded Pontianus in the bishopric of the Roman church [235-236 A.D.]. The letter ascribed to him is one of the pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.

THE EPISTLE.

On the transference of bishops (of episcopal seats).



O the brethren, most dearly beloved, constituted to be bishops in the provinces of Bœtica and Tolctana, Bishop Anterus sends greeting in the Lord.

I should wish, my dearest brethren, always to receive the glad account of your sincere love and peace, so that the signs of your welfare might be promoted in turn by the dissemination of our letters among you, if our ancient enemy should give us quiet and deliverance from his attacks; who was a liar from the beginning,¹ the enemy of the truth, the rival of man—in order to deceive whom he first deceived himself,—the adversary of modesty, the master of luxury. He feeds on cruelties; he is punished by abstinence; he hates fasts, and his ministers preach to that effect, as he declares them to be superfluous, having no hope of the future, and echoing that sentence of the apostle, in which he says, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.”² O miserable boldness! O subtlety of a desperate mind! For he exhorts to hatred, and puts concord to flight. And because the mind of man is easily drawn over to the worse part, and chooses rather to walk by the broad way than laboriously to take its course by the narrow way, for this reason, brethren most dearly beloved, follow ye the better, and always leave the

¹ John viii. 44.

² 1 Cor. xv. 32.

worse behind you. Do good, avoid evil, in order that ye may be found to be the disciples of the Lord in truth.

Now, of the transference of bishops, on which subject it has been your wish to consult the holy seat of the apostles, know ye that that may lawfully be done for the sake of the common good, or when it is absolutely necessary, but not at the mere will or bidding of any individual. Peter, our holy master, and the prince of the apostles, was translated for the sake of the common good from Antioch to Rome, in order that he might be in a position there of doing more service. Eusebius also was transferred from a certain minor city to Alexandria by apostolic authority. In like manner Felix, on account of the doctrine and the good life which he maintained, was translated by the common consent of the bishops and the other priests, and the people from the city in which, on the election of the citizens, he had been ordained, to Ephesus. For that man is not chargeable with shifting from city to city who does not do that of his own inclination or by the force of ambition, but who is transferred for the general good, or in virtue of some necessity, by the counsel and with the consent of the chief parties. Nor can he be said to transfer himself from a smaller city to a larger, who is placed in that position not by his own self-seeking or his own choice, but either as being driven out of his own proper seat by force, or as being compelled by some necessity, and who without pride and in humility has been translated and installed there by others for the good of the place or the people: for man looketh on the countenance, but the Lord seeth the heart. And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says, "The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are vanity."¹ That man, therefore, does not change his seat who does not change his mind. Nor does he change his city who is changed not of his own will, but by the decision and election of others. And accordingly he does not shift from city to city who does not leave his own city for the sake of gain to himself, or of his own choice, but who, as has already been said, has been translated to another city either in consequence of being driven out of his own

¹ Ps. xciv. 11.

seat, or compelled by some necessity, or in virtue of the election and injunction of the priests and people. For as the bishops have power regularly to ordain bishops and other orders of priests, so, as often as any matter of advantage or necessity constrains them, they have power in the above-mentioned manner both to transfer and to install. As ye have asked our opinion in these matters, though they are not subjects unknown to you, we give you these things in charge to hold them, lest, through the ignorance of some, that which is better and more profitable be avoided, and what is more profitless be taken up, even as we read in the holy Gospel: "Woe unto you, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat and swallow a camel."¹ What is lawful is [with them] not lawful, and what is not lawful is lawful. Even as Jannes and Mambres² resisted the truth, so do they, being reprobate in mind, and lovers of pleasure rather than of God, teach that that is unlawful which is lawful, to wit, that bishops should shift from city to city in the manner already noted; and what is unlawful they teach as lawful, to wit, to omit to show mercy to those who endure straits: that is to say, they deny that a bishop belonging to another city should be bestowed for good, or for necessity's sake, upon those who have no bishop, and who want the sacred episcopal ministry; and that another episcopal seat should be assigned to bishops who endure persecution or straits. They contradict the sacred Scripture also, which testifies that God desireth mercy rather than judgment³ (*judicium*).

What greater charity, I pray you, can there be, or what more profitable service of piety, on the part of any one to another, than to deliver him from the darkness of ignorance and the thick darkness of inexperience, and restore him, in fine, by the nutriment of the doctrine of the true faith, not for gain indeed, or ambition, but for instruction and edification? For he becomes, so to speak, the hand for the maimed,

¹ Matt. xxiii. 23, 24.

² 2 Tim. iii. 8.

³ Hos. vi. 6.

the foot for the lame, the eye for the blind,¹ who unlocks the treasure of wisdom and knowledge to one wrapped in the darkness of ignorance, and opens up to such an one the brightness of the light and the ways of the Lord.]²

Now for both parties—namely, for those who endure a famine of the word of God, and for bishops who endure straits, when they are installed in other cities for the common good—no small degree of mercy is shown. And they who deny this, although they have the form of godliness, do yet deny the power thereof.³ For in such a matter I make no recognition of race (*prosapiam*). If, however, any one of the wise, whom the stress of this storm (or season) has allied with other leaders among the unwise, is stained with a participation in their deeds, yet the excellence of the wise man, although he may chance to be privy to their offences, makes him incapable of giving himself as a leader to sinners. The cause of public good and necessity is one thing, and the cause of self-seeking, and presumption, or private inclination, is another thing. On account of self-seeking, or presumption, or private inclination, bishops are not to be transferred from one city to another, but only on account of public good and necessity. And this is a matter which no one denies, except those of whom it is said, “They have erred through wine; they have not known the seer; they have been ignorant of judgment.”⁴ For if I were constrained to open up in narration things that have been brought to end, I would show you that no comfort comes from the comparison of such deeds. But, most dearly beloved, “stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths of the Lord, and see what is the good way and the right, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.”⁵ And, to speak according to the word of Wisdom: “Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth. Think of the Lord in goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek Him. For He is found of them that tempt Him not, and showeth Himself unto such as do not distrust Him. For froward

¹ Job xxix. 15.

² The bracketed passage is wanting in one manuscript.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 5.

⁴ Isa. xxviii. 7.

⁵ Jer. vi. 16.

thoughts separate from God ; and His power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise. For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin. For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in. For wisdom is a benign spirit, and will not acquit a blasphemer of His words. For God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue. For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice. Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid ; neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him. For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly. And the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord, and unto the manifestation of his wicked deeds ; for the ear of jealousy heareth all things, and the noise of murmurings shall not be hid. Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable ; and refrain your tongue from backbiting, for there is no word so secret that it shall go for nought. The mouth that believeth slayeth the soul. Seek not death in the error of your life, and pull not upon yourself destruction with the works of your hands ; for God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living. For He created all things that they might have their being, and He wished the nations of the world to be healthful. There is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth of the living. Righteousness is perpetual and immortal, but unrighteousness is the acquisition of death. And ungodly men with their hands and words called it to them ; and when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with it ; because they are worthy of death who take part with it.”¹ “For they said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, The time of our life is short and tedious ; and in the death of a man there is no remedy, neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born of nothing, and we shall be hereafter as though we had

¹ Wisd. i.

never been. For the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and speech is a little spark for the moving of our heart; which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air. And our life shall pass as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and overcome with the heat thereof. And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance. For our time is a very shadow that passeth away, and after our end there is no returning; for it is fast sealed, and no man shall come again.”¹ And for this reason every one must see to it that he keep himself with all care, and watch himself for his own good, so that when his last day and the end of his life come upon him, he may not pass over to everlasting death, but to eternal life. For the deeds of those put under us are judged by us, but our own doth God judge. Sometimes, moreover, bishops are perverted through the fault of the people, to the end that those fall more precipitately who follow them. When the head languisheth, the other members of the body are affected thereby. And viler are those who corrupt the life and morals of the good, than those who spoil the property and goods of others. Let each one take care that he have neither an itching tongue nor itching ears; that is to say, that he neither be a detractor of others himself, nor listen to others in their detractions. “Thou satest,” saith he, “and spakest against thy brother; and thou didst slander thine own mother’s son.”² Let every individual abstain from a detracting tongue, and keep a guard upon his own words, and understand that all that they say of others shall enter into the judgment wherewith they themselves shall be judged. No one readily refers to an unwilling auditor. Let it be the care of all of you, most dearly beloved, to keep not only your eyes, but also your tongue, pure. And let not another house ever know by your means what is done in any man’s house. Let all have the simplicity of the dove, that they devise not guile against any one; and the subtlety of the serpent, that they be not overthrown by the crafty designs

¹ *Wisd. ii. 1-5.*² *Ps. l. 20.*

of others. It does not belong to my humble station and measure to judge others, and to say anything unfavourable of the ministers of the churches. Far be it from me that I should say anything unfavourable of those who are the successors to the apostolic status, and make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth; by whose instrumentality we too are Christians, and who have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and exercise judgment before the day of judgment. Moreover, it is contained in the ancient law, that whoever has not given obedience to the priests should either be stoned outside the camp by the people, or with his neck beneath the sword should expiate his presumption by his blood.¹ Now, however, the disobedient is cut off by spiritual chastisement; and being cast out of the church, is torn by the rabid mouth of demons.² For it becomes those who have God in their heritage, to serve God free from all the hindrances of the world, so that they may be able to say, "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance."³ "O how good and pleasant is Thy Spirit, O Lord, in all things!"⁴ "And thou sparest all because they are Thine, O Lord, who lovest souls. *Therefore chastenest Thou them* by little and little that offend, and warnest them of those things wherein they offend, and dost address them, that leaving their wickedness, they may believe on Thee, O Lord."⁵ "But Thou, our God, art gracious and true, long-suffering, and in mercy ordering all things. For if we sin, we are Thine, knowing Thy power. And if we sin not, we know that we are counted Thine."⁶ "The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall be required of him; and in His regard they shall be blessed."⁷ Wherefore, most beloved brethren, "let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all

¹ Deut. xvii.² Thus far Jerome.³ Ps. xvi. 5.⁴ Wisd. xii. 1.⁵ Wisd. xii. 2.⁶ Wisd. xv. 1, 2.⁷ Eccles. xxxiv. 13, 14.

malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you.”¹ “Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour. But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this know ye, understanding that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light (for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth), proving what is acceptable unto the Lord. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret. But all things that are reprovèd are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever is made manifest (*manifestatur*) is light. Wherefore He saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. See then that ye walk circumspectly, brethren, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Holy Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ.”² Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the tradition of the apostles and the apostolic seat, “that our

¹ Eph. iv. 29-32.² Eph. v. 1-21.

Lord Jesus Christ and our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, may comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good work and word.”¹ “Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you, and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men : for all men have not faith. But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil.”² Wherefore set your hearts continually in the strength (*virtute*) of God, and always resist the wicked, and tell these things, according to the word of the prophet, “to the generations following ; for this God is our God unto eternity, and He will rule us for ever and ever.”³ Hence ye who are set for examples (*in specula*) by the Lord, ought by all means to check and keep back those who devise crafty counsels against the brethren, or excite against them seditions and slanders. For it is an easy thing to deceive man with a word, but it is not so with the Lord. Wherefore ye ought to reprehend such persons, and turn away from them, to the end that, all darkness of this manner being completely done away, the Morning Star may shine upon them, and gladness arise in their hearts. “*And we have confidence in the Lord touching you, brethren, that ye both do and will do the things which we command you.*”⁴ For the more ye show forth your kindnesses to them, the greater a return have ye to look for from the omnipotent God whom they serve. May the omnipotent God keep you in His protection, and grant you to maintain honour and precept ; and may glory and honour be to God the Father Almighty, and to his only-begotten Son our Saviour, with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

Given on the 12th day before the kalends of April (the 21st of March), in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximianus and Africanus.

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 15-17.

² 2 Thess. iii. 1-3.

³ Ps. xlviii. 13, 14.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 4.

THE EPISTLES OF POPE FABIAN.

FABIAN was bishop of Rome from 236 to 250 A.D. The letters ascribed to him are rejected by all as spurious.

THE FIRST EPISTLE.

TO ALL THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

Of those who ought not to be admitted to clear themselves, and of the duty of having no fellowship with the excommunicated.



O the dearly-beloved brethren in the ministry of the church catholic in all regions, Fabian sends greeting in the Lord.

By the divine precepts and the apostolic institutes, we are admonished to watch in behoof of the position of all the churches with unwearied interest. Whence it follows that you ought to know what is being done in things sacred in the church of Rome, in order that, by following her example, ye may be found to be true children of her who is called your mother. Accordingly, as we have received the institution from our fathers, we maintain seven deacons in the city of Rome distributed over seven districts of the state, who attend to the services enjoined on them week by week, and on the Lord's days and the solemn festivals, in concert with the subdeacons, and acolytes, and servants of the succeeding orders, and hold themselves in readiness every hour for religious duty, and for the discharge of all that is enjoined upon them. In like manner ought ye also to do throughout your different cities, as may be convenient, that religious duty may be discharged zealously and regularly,

without any delay or negligence. Furthermore, we have ordained in like manner seven subdeacons who shall stand by (*imminerent*) the seven notaries, and bring into one full and accurate account the histories of the martyrs, and lay them before us for our examination. And this, too, we urge you all to do, so that no doubt or questioning of these things may arise in later times; "for whatsoever things were written, were written for our learning."¹ And whatsoever things are written in truth in our times, are directed to the learning of future times. And therefore we enjoin these duties to be put in charge of the most faithful, that nothing false may be found in them, from which an offence (which may God forbid) may arise to the faithful. For this reason also we beg it of your love in paternal benignity, that the holy church may now find the good-will of your love in all things, and obtain the comforts of your favour whenever there is necessity. And as the goodness of your zeal affords us the assurance that we ought to distrust it in nothing, but rather commit these things in all confidence to you as to wise sons of our church; so, small importance being attached to opportune occasions, your virtue ought to exert itself the more strenuously in labours, and keep off reproaches by all possible means, and with all zeal. We exhort you also, according to the word of the apostle, to be "stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not vain in the Lord."² And in another place: "Watch ye, and pray, and stand fast in the faith. Quit you like men, and be strong. Let all things be done with charity."³ Furthermore, we desire you to know this, that in our times, as our sins embarrassed us, and that ancient enemy who always goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,⁴ instigated him, Novatus came up out of Africa, and separated Novatianus and certain other confessors of Christ from the church of Christ, and persuaded them into the acceptance of evil doctrine. From such persons, brethren, keep yourselves aloof, and beware of all who hold a faith and

¹ Rom. xv. 4.² 1 Cor. xv. 58.³ 1 Cor. xvi. 13, 14.⁴ 1 Pet. v. 8.

doctrine different from that which the apostles and their successors have held and taught, lest (which may God forbid) going after him ye fall into the toils of Satan, and be bound with his fetters. Wherefore with most earnest prayers we beg it of your brotherly love, that ye may deem it fit to remember our insignificance in your holy prayers, beseeching and entreating the Lord of heaven that we, as well as our holy mother the church of Christ, redeemed with His precious blood, may be delivered from the toils of Satan, who lieth in wait for us, and from troublesome and wicked men, and that the Word of God may have free course and be glorified, and that the evil doctrine of them, and of all who teach things contrary to the truth, may be overthrown and perish. We beseech you also to be zealous in praying in your pious supplications, that our God and Lord Jesus Christ, who will have all men to be saved, and no one to perish,¹ may, by His vast omnipotence, cause their hearts to turn again to sound doctrine and to the catholic faith, in order that they may be recovered from the toils of the devil who are held captive by him, and be united with the children of our mother the church. Be mindful also of your brethren, and have pity upon them, and labour for them by all means in your power, that they be not lost, but be saved unto the Lord by your prayers, and other efforts of your goodness. So act therefore in these matters that ye may approve yourselves as obedient and faithful children of the holy church of God, and that ye may obtain the recompense of reward. These men, and all else who do not teach the true doctrine, and hold not the true faith, cannot act as accusers of any true believer, because they are branded with infamy, and are cut off from the bosom of our holy mother the church by the sword of the apostles, until their return to correct conversation and belief. Hence by apostolic authority, and in agreement with all the sons of the same apostolic and universal church, we resolve that all who come under suspicion with respect to the catholic faith cannot be admitted as accusers of those who hold the true creed; for suspicions are always to be set aside. Rightly

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 4.

therefore are charges which are preferred by those who are objects of suspicion in the matter of the true faith, rejected. Neither are they at all to be credited who are unacquainted with the faith of the Trinity. In like manner we set aside and withdraw from all part in the accusing of the faithful, all those whom the decrees of the holy fathers in times past and times future alike anathematize. Accordingly, the believing ought always to be kept distinct from the unbelieving, and the righteous from the unrighteous; since the unbelieving and evil-minded, by every means in their power, are always troubling the believing, and striving to undo them; and consequently they are not to be received, but rejected and kept entirely at a distance, lest they may undo or defame the believing. For this reason, dearly beloved, beware of the pit of such persons, into which we know many have fallen. Beware of the snares (or darts) of such persons, and of the efforts of the ancient enemy, by which we have seen even those closely connected with us fall wounded before us. Watch the nooses of the liers in wait, by which they are wont to strangle associates and comrades. Follow not such, but keep them far off from you. Be ye, according to the voice of Truth, wise as serpents and harmless as doves.¹ See to it that ye neither run nor labour in vain; but, sustained by each other's prayers and supplications, strive ye to do the will of God; and from those persons whom I have mentioned, if they show themselves incorrigible, keep yourselves separate in all things. In like manner keep yourselves separate from all those of whom the apostle makes mention when he says, "with such persons, no, not to eat;"² since these latter, as well as the former, are to be rejected, and are not to be admitted before they have given satisfaction to the church. For those with whom it is not lawful to eat are manifestly separated from all intercourse with the rest of the brethren until such satisfaction is given. Wherefore they ought not and cannot be admitted to the preferring of charges against the faithful, but they ought to be debarred from their society until the satisfaction already mentioned is given, lest these

¹ Matt. x. 16.² 1 Cor. v. 11.

too should be made like them, or underlie their excommunication; for to this effect have the apostles decreed, saying, With the excommunicated no fellowship is to be held. And if any one, setting aside the rules wittingly, sings with the excommunicated in his house, or speaks or prays in company with them, that man is to be deprived of the privilege of communion. Such persons, therefore, are in all things to be guarded against, and are not to be received, because, according to the apostle, not only those who commit such things are condemned, but also those who consent with those who do them.¹ Whence also the blessed chief of the apostles, Peter, addressing the people at the ordination of Clement, says this among other things:² If this Clement is hostile to any one on account of his deeds, wait not ye for his saying directly to you, Be not on terms of friendship with this man. But mark ye carefully his will as ye ought, and second it without need of direct injunction; and separate yourselves from that man to whom ye perceive him to be inimical, and speak not with those with whom he speaks not, in order that every one who may be in fault, as he desires to possess the friendship of all of you, may be zealous in effecting a reconciliation all the more quickly with him who presides over all, so that he may return to spiritual well-being (*redeat ad salutem*) hereby, when he begins to yield obedience to the charges of the president. If, however, any one is not friendly, and speaks with those with whom he (his chief) speaks not, such an one belongs to those who seek to exterminate the church of God; and though he seems to be with you in body, he is against you in mind and heart. And such an one is a much more dangerous enemy than those who are without, and who are openly hostile. For this man under the guise of friendship acts the part of an enemy, and scatters and ruins the church. And therefore, dearly beloved, in these apostolic institutes we warn and teach you, that your charity, being instructed therein (*effecta certior*), may hereafter study to act with greater care and prudence, so that perverse and unbelieving

¹ Rom. i. 32.

² *Clementines*: Ep. of Clem. to James, xviii.

men may not have the power of injuring the faithful and well-disposed; for the hope of such, and of all the ungodly, is like dust that is blown away with the wind; and like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; and like as the smoke which is dispersed here and there with a tempest, and as the remembrance of a guest of a single day that passeth away.¹ With the utmost care, dearly beloved, are such persons to be guarded against, and avoided, and rejected, if they show themselves injurious. For the laws of the world, no less than those of the church, do not admit the injurious, but reject them. Whence it is written, "The mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity."² And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, saith, "With the holy thou wilt show thyself holy; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward; and with the excellent thou wilt show thyself excellent (*electus*); and with the innocent man thou wilt show thyself innocent."³ And the apostle says, "Evil communications corrupt good manners."⁴ Wherefore, as has already been indicated, the wicked are always to be avoided and shunned, and the good and rightly-disposed are to be stedfastly followed, in order that, as far as possible, we may avoid the peril of sloth. And lest this pest may be spread abroad more widely, let us cut it off from us with all possible severity; for the temerity of presumption does not intervene where there is the diligence of piety. Let every one of you, sustained by this apostolic representation, act according to his strength, and study in brotherly love and in godly piety to keep his own manners correct, and to help each other, and to abide in charity, and to keep himself in the will of God unceasingly, in order that we may praise the Lord together, and give Him thanks always without wearying. Fare ye well in the Lord, dearly beloved, and with the Lord's help strive to fulfil to the best of your ability the things before mentioned.—Given on the first day of July, in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximinus (or, Maximus) and Africanus.⁵

¹ Wisd. v. 14.² Prov. xix. 28.³ Ps. xviii. 25, 26.⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 33.⁵ In the year 236.

THE SECOND EPISTLE.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF THE EAST.

That the chrism¹ should be renewed with consecration every year, and that the old supply should be set aside to be burnt in the churches ; also concerning the accusing of priests, and on the duty of the sheep not to dare to blame their shepherd unless he errs in the faith.

- I. That new chrism should be made every year, and the old be burnt.
- II. Of the right of bishops not to be accused or hurt by detraction.

FABIAN, bishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops of the East, and to the whole body of the faithful, greeting in the Lord.

Your love for the seat of the apostles requires counsels which we neither can nor ought to deny you. It is clear, moreover, that our predecessors did this for the bishops of many districts ; and brotherly charity and the debt of obedience impose the duty of so doing also upon us who, by the bountiful goodness of God, are placed in the same seat. Care, therefore, is to be had by your solicitude, that neither remissness may avail to neglect, nor presumption be able to disturb, those things which have been ordained by the apostles and their successors, and established under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But as it was proper that that should be defined which the use of right order required, so what has been so defined ought not to be violated.

I.

Now, among other matters, in your letter we find it stated that certain bishops of your district adopt a different practice from yours and ours, and do not prepare the chrism at the Lord's Supper every year, but keep it in use for two or three, making such a supply of the holy chrism once for all. For they say, as we find in the letter referred to, that balsam cannot be got every year ; and besides that, even though it

¹ The unguent of oil and balsam used in the so-called sacrament of confirmation.

were got, there would be no necessity for preparing chrism every year, but that, so long as the one preparation of chrism is sufficiently large, they have no need to make another. They are in error, however, who think so; and in making such statements they speak like madmen rather than men in their right senses. For on that day the Lord Jesus, after supping with His disciples, and washing their feet, according to the tradition which our predecessors received from the holy apostles and left to us, taught them to prepare the chrism. That washing of their feet signifies our baptism, as it is completed and confirmed by the unction of the holy chrism. For as the solemn observance of that day is to be kept every year, so the preparing of that holy chrism is to be attended to every year, and it is to be renewed from year to year and given to the faithful. For [the material of] this new sacrament is to be made anew every year, and on the day already named; and the old supply is to be burned in the holy churches. These things we have received from the holy apostles and their successors, and we commit them to your keeping. The holy church of Rome and that of Antioch have been guardians of these things from the times of the apostles: these things also the churches of Jerusalem and Ephesus maintain. Presiding over these churches, the apostles taught these things, and ordained that the old chrism should be burnt, and permitted them to use it no longer than one year, and commanded them thereafter to use the new, and not the old material. If any one, therefore, ventures to go against these things, let him understand that the door of indulgence is barred against him on your part and on that of all right-minded men: for the perverse doctrine of most depraved minds, while it uses the reins too indulgently, slips into the sin of presumption; and it can by no means be cast out, unless it is cleared of all support and correction on the part of the intelligent. And those usages which the holy church throughout the whole world uniformly observes with respect to the divine mysteries, and towards the subjects of baptism, are not to be regarded with indifferent concern, lest we make way for purposeless efforts and superstitions. We ought not, therefore, to bring over

the untaught minds of the faithful to such practices as we have named, because they should be instructed rather than played upon. For good deeds make for our happiness, and evil deeds prick us with the stings of sorrow. But here, however we are situated, we are among the hands of robbers and the teeth of raging wolves, and the contumacious are put in the place of the true sheep. And it is by the barking of the dogs and the staff of the shepherd that the fury of the wolves is checked. Those wounds, moreover, which cannot be healed by remedies, must be cut out with the knife. Neither can we keep silence, for, in seeking here to call back some from things unlawful, we are impelled by the instinct of our office, having been set on the watch-towers by the Lord with this object, that we should prove the diligence of our watchfulness by checking things that should be prohibited, and deciding for things that should be observed.

II.

You desired also to consult us, as we find in the above-mentioned letter of yours, on the subject of the accusing of priests,—a thing which, as we learn also from the same epistle, is exceedingly frequent among you. You have intimated, besides, that very many notice that not a few in places of ecclesiastical dignity do not live in a manner conformable to the discourses and sacraments with which the people are served by their means. O miserable men, who in looking at these forget Christ, who long since indeed told us how that the law of God should be obeyed, rather than that those should be looked to for imitation who do not the things which they say; and bearing with the traitor himself even to the end, He sent him also along with the rest to preach the gospel. For the apostles had no such custom, neither did they teach that it was one fit to be had. And to like effect their successors also, foreseeing by the Spirit of God things to come, have determined largely on such subjects. Besides, as you read in the Acts of the Apostles, “There was at that time among them that believed one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed

was his own ; but they had all things common.”¹ For there was no laying of accusations against each other among them, except what was friendly; neither ought there ever to be such among their followers or among believers: for the Lord says, “Do not that to another which thou wouldst not have done to thyself.”² And He says also, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;”³ and, “Love worketh no ill to his neighbour.”⁴ In accordance herewith, the apostles themselves and their successors decreed of old time that those persons should not be admitted to lay accusations who were under suspicion, or who but yesterday, or the day before, or a little time ago, were at enmity, as they come thus under suspicion, or who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, or who are doubtful in the matter of the true faith. In like manner is it decided to be with those whose faith and life and liberty are unknown, or who are marked with the stains of infamy, or entangled in the snares of offences. Again, those have neither the right nor the power to accuse the priests or the clergy, who are incapable themselves of being made priests legitimately, and are not of their order; for just as the priests and the other members of the clerical order are debarred from laying accusations against the secular laity, so these latter, too, should be debarred and excluded from the right of bringing charges against the former. And as the former should not be admitted by the latter, so the latter should not be admitted by the former: for as the conversation of the priests of the Lord ought to be something separate from the conversation of these others, so should they be separate from them also in the matter of litigation; “for the servant of the Lord ought not to strive.”⁵ To the utmost of your power, dearly beloved brethren, do ye prohibit such accusations, and all unrighteous and injurious emulations, because contention is to be avoided by all means. “For a just man will fall seven times in a day, and will rise again; but the wicked shall fall into mischief. Rejoice not when thine

¹ Acts iv. 32.² Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi.³ Matt. xxii. 39; Mark xii. 31.⁴ Rom. xiii. 10.⁵ 1 Tim. ii. 24.

enemy falleth," saith Solomon, "and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth; lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him. Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious at the wicked: for the evil have not the hope of the future, and the candle of the wicked shall be put out. Envy not evil men, neither be thou desirous to be with them; for their mind meditates rapine, and their lips speak deceits."¹ Dearly beloved, beware of these things. Ponder these things, and minister comfort to the brethren in all things; for, as the Truth says in His own person, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."² For if in things secular each man's right and his proper position are kept for him, how much more ought there to be no confusion induced in matters of ecclesiastical order! And this is a right which will be duly observed if no deference is paid to mere power, but all to equity. Whence it is an established duty, that the bishops of each several district should exercise a watchful care over all those who live under their rule, and in the fear of God should dispose of all cases in which they are concerned, and of all matters in which they are interested. It is therefore extremely inequitable that any [bishops] should neglect their own cases, and mix themselves up with those of others. But those whose part it is to ordain such persons to the priesthood, and by whom they have been already ordained, ought to order the life and judgment of such by the exercise of a competent and regular administration; for, as the law says, "Cursed is every one that removeth his neighbour's landmarks. And all the people said Amen."³ To this therefore, brethren, has God foreordained you, and all who hold the highest office of the priesthood, that ye should put all injustice out of the way, and cut off presumption, and help those who labour in the priesthood, and give no occasion for their reproach and trouble, but bring assistance to him who endures calumny and reproach, and cut off him who works calumny and reproach, and act for the help of the Lord in His priests. The Lord, moreover, has chosen the priests for Himself, that they

¹ Prov. xxiv. 17, etc.² John xiii. 35.³ Deut. xxvii. 17.

should sacrifice to Him, and offer oblations to their Lord. He commanded the Levites also to be under them in their ministries. Whence He speaks to Moses in these terms: "And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary."¹ For of these the Lord spake to Moses in this wise: "Take the Levites instead of the first-born among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am the Lord."² If the Lord willed the Levites to be His own, how much more has He taken the priests for Himself! And of these He says: "If any stranger cometh nigh, he shall be put to death."³ All objects, moreover, that are the Lord's are to be handled carefully, and are not lightly to be injured; for even among men, those are reckoned faithful who attend to the interests of their masters rightly, and deal with them faithfully, and rightly observe the commands of their masters, and transgress them not. And those, on the other hand, are reputed unfaithful who deal with the interests of their masters carelessly and negligently, and despise their commands, and do not observe them as they ought. Accordingly we have set these matters before you, in order that those who now know it not may know this; viz., that the priests, too, whom the Lord has taken to Himself from among all men, and has willed to be His own, are not to be dealt with lightly, nor injured, nor rashly accused or reprehended, save by their masters, seeing that the Lord has chosen to reserve their causes to Himself, and ministers vengeance according to His own judgment. For in these and other precepts of the Lord the faithful are distinguished, and the unfaithful at the same time disapproved. For these are rather to be borne with by the faithful than made subjects of reproach (*exprobandi*); just as there is chaff with the wheat even to the last winnowing, and as there are bad fish with good even on to their separation, which is yet to be on the shore,—that is to say, at the end of the world. By no means, then, can that man be condemned by a human examination, whom God has re-

¹ Num. iii. 32.² Num. iii. 45.³ Num. i. 51.

served for His own judgment, that the purpose of God, according to which He has decreed to save what had perished, may be unalterable. And consequently, as His will suffers no change, let no man presume on matters which are not conceded to him. And herein is the meaning of that word which the apostle speaks: "Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?"¹ To this, too, our Lord's word may refer: "And if any man will take away thy coat, and sue thee at the law, let him have thy cloak also."² And in another place: "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again."³ Moreover, there are certain things which might be thought most trivial were they not shown in the Scriptures to be of more serious import. Who would ever consider the man who says to his brother "Thou fool" worthy of hell-fire, were it not that the Truth Himself told us so?⁴ Those, furthermore, who commit those sins whereof the apostle says, "They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God,"⁵ are by all means to be guarded against, and are to be compelled to seek amendment if they do not choose it voluntarily, because they are marked with the stains of infamy, and go down into the pit, unless assistance is brought them by sacerdotal authority. Those also are to be dealt with in like manner of whom he says, "With such persons, no, not to eat;"⁶ because such persons are branded with infamy until they are restored by sacerdotal authority, and reinstated in the bosom of our holy mother the church; since those who are outside us cannot communicate with us. And it is manifest that these are outside us, and ought to be separated from us, with whom it is not lawful for us to eat or to take food. In like manner also, all persons who underlie the charge of any manner of turpitude and dishonour, are rendered infamous; and all who arm themselves against fathers are rendered infamous. "Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear than a man without

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 7.² Matt. v. 40.³ Luke vi. 30.⁴ Matt. v. 22.⁵ Gal. v. 21.⁶ 1 Cor. v. 11.

understanding, and foolish and impious.”¹ “He that wanteth understanding thinks upon vain things; and a foolish and erring man imagineth follies.”² For their suspicion has overthrown many, and their opinion hath held them in vanity. “A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein. A heart that entereth two ways shall not have rest; and the evil heart in them shall be made to stumble. A wicked heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the sinner shall heap sin upon sin.”³ The holy apostles and their successors, having such things in mind, and foreseeing, as being filled with the Holy Spirit, the course of wicked men, and having regard to the simple, determined that the accusing of priests should be a matter undertaken with difficulty, or never undertaken, that they might not be ruined or displaced by wicked men. For if this were made an easy matter to secular and wicked men, there would remain no one, or but the scantiest few; seeing that it ever has been and still is the case—and (which is yet worse) that too in growing measure—that the wicked persecute the good, and that the carnal are hostile to the spiritual. For this reason, then, as has been already said, they decreed that such should not be accused at all; or if that could not be avoided, that the accusing of such should be made a matter of great difficulty. And they determined also, as has been stated above, by what persons that function should not be assumed; and they resolved further, that bishops should not be cast out from their own proper seats and churches. But if in any way the matter [of accusation] should be taken in hand before their rightful seat and all their property are restored by those laws, they should by no means be accused or criminated by any one, and should not answer any one on such charges, unless they choose to do so of their own accord. But after they have been reinstated, as has been before noted, and have had all their effects restored to them by those laws, when their affairs are arranged and set in order, they should then have a long period allowed them for the disposing of their case; and thereafter, if need be, they should be

¹ Eccclus. xxii. 15.² Eccclus. xvi. 23.³ Eccclus. iii. 24, etc.

regularly summoned, and so come to the suit; and if the matter seem just, they should answer the propositions of their accusers with the help of their brethren. For so long as their effects, or their churches and property, are held by their adversaries, or by any person, no manner of reason allows that any charge ought to be preferred against them. And no one is at liberty by any means to bring any charge against them, whether superior or inferior, so long as they are dispossessed of their churches, effects, or powers. In like manner also it was decreed, and we too confirm the same statutes and hereby decree, that if any one among the clergy proves an enemy or traducer of his bishops, and seeks to criminate them, or conspires against them, at once, before the consideration of judicial investigation, he should be removed from the clerical order, and given over to the court (*curiæ*), to which he shall devote himself zealously all the days of his life, and shall remain infamous without any hope of restoration. And let no one ever presume to be at once accuser, and judge, or witness; for in every judicial investigation there must always be four persons present: that is, the judges elected, and the accusers, and the defenders, and the witnesses. In like manner we decree and ordain by apostolic authority, that the flock should not dare to bring a charge against their pastor, to whose care they had been consigned, unless he falls into error in the faith; for the deeds of superiors are not to be smitten with the sword of the mouth; neither can the disciple be above the master, as the voice of Truth saith, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord."¹ And pride is hateful before God and men, and all iniquity is execrable. "The Lord hath destroyed the memory of the proud, and hath left the memory of the humble in mind. The seed of men shall be honoured, this [seed] that feareth God. But that seed shall be dishonoured that transgresseth the commandments of the Lord. Among brethren, he that is chief is honourable; and they that fear the Lord shall be in His eyes. My son, saith Solomon, preserve thy soul in meekness, and give honour to him whom honour beseemeth."² "Blame not any one before

¹ Matt. x. 24.² Ecclus. x. 7, etc.

thou examinest him; and when thou hast examined him, reprove him justly. Answer not a word before thou hearest the cause; neither interrupt with talk in the midst of thy seniors.”¹ After the example of Ham the son of Noah, they are condemned who bring the faults of their fathers into public view, or presume to accuse or calumniate them; even as was the case with Ham, who did not cover the shame of his father Noah, but exhibited it for mockery. And in like manner those are justified by the example of Shem and Japhet, who reverently cover and seek not to display those matters in which they find their fathers to have erred. For if a bishop should happen to err from the faith, he should in the first place be corrected privately by those placed under him (*a subditis suis*). And if he show himself incorrigible (which may God forbid), then an accusation should be laid against him before his primates, or before the seat of the apostles. For his other actings, however, he is rather to be borne with by his flock and those put under him, than accused or made the subject of public detraction; because when any offence is committed in these matters by those put under them, His ordinance is withstood who set them before him, as the apostle says, “Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.”² But he who fears Almighty God, agrees in no way to do anything contrary to the gospel, or contrary to the apostles, or contrary to the prophets or the institutions of the holy fathers. The priests therefore are to be honoured, and not to be injured or reproached. Thus read we in Ecclesiasticus: “Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence His priests. Love Him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not His ministers. Honour God with thy whole soul, and honour the priest, and cleanse thyself beforehand with the shoulders (*propurga te cum brachiis*). Give him his portion, as it is commanded thee, of the first-fruits; and purge thyself concerning negligence with a few things. Thou shalt offer the gift of thy shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things to the Lord. And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that

¹ Ecclus. xi. 7, 8.² Rom. xiii. 2.

thine atonement and blessing may be perfected.”¹ We desire these things to become known not to you only, but through you to all the brethren, that we may abide in Christ of one accord and one mind, making no claim for ourselves through strife or vainglory, and being pleasers not of men, but of God our Saviour. To Him belongeth honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE THIRD EPISTLE.

TO BISHOP HILARY.

That extraneous judgments should be rejected, and that the accused person should carry out his cause in his own locality; and that every one who brings forward a charge should intimate in writing his ability to prove it, and that if he fails to prove what he alleges, he should bear the penalty which he advanced.

- I. Of those who ought not to be admitted to the right of accusation.
- II. Of extraneous judgments.
- III. Of the arraigned.
- IV. Of the case of any one bringing forward a charge in passion, or failing to prove his allegations.
- V. On the question of an accused bishop appealing to the seat of the apostles.

FABIAN, to my dearly beloved brother Bishop Hilary.

We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, who, in the compassion of His own regard, hath raised us for this reason to the summit of sacerdotal dignity, that by cleaving to His commandments, and by being set in a certain eminence as overseers of His priests, we may restrain things unlawful, and inculcate things that are to be followed. For we have heard that in those western parts in which you dwell, the craft of the devil rageth so violently against the people of Christ, and breaketh forth in delusions so manifold, that it oppresseth and troubleth not only the secular laity, but the priests of the Lord themselves also. Wherefore, involved as we are in deep grief, we cannot conceal what we ought

¹ Ecclus. vii. 29-32.

severely to correct. Accordingly a sufficient remedy must be employed for such wounds, lest a hasty facility in the cure may prove of no service for the deadly disease of the head ; and lest the trouble, by being too easily dealt with, may involve, through the defect of an illegitimate mode of cure, the hurt and the healers together in its evil.

I. On this account, therefore, we decree and resolve, that those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is impeachable, or whose faith and life and liberty are unknown, should not have the power of accusing the priests of the Lord, lest vile persons should thus be admitted to the liberty of accusing them. In like manner, those who are involved in any matters of accusation, or who are under suspicion, should not have a voice in laying charges against their seniors ; for the voice of the suspected and the inimical is wont to oppress the truth.

II. Moreover, by a general ordinance, and without prejudice to the authority of the apostles in all things, we prohibit extraneous judgments, because it is not fit that he should be judged by strangers, who ought to have those of his own province and those elected by himself as his judges, unless an appeal has been made. Wherefore, if any one of the bishops is accused on precise charges, he ought to be heard by all the bishops who are in the province ; for it is not right that an accused person should be heard elsewhere than in his own circuit. Again, if any one is of opinion that he has a judge adverse to him, he should claim the right of appeal ; and an appellant ought to be injured by no kind of oppression or detention ; but an appellant ought to have the liberty of righting his case, when wronged, by the remedy of appeal. There ought also to be liberty of appeal in criminal cases. And the right of appealing ought to be denied to no one whom judgment has destined for punishment.

III. A person arraigned ought to plead his cause before his judge ; and an arraigned person may refuse to speak, if he choose so, before one who is not his own proper judge ; and indulgence (*induciæ*) should be granted to the arraigned as often as they appeal.

IV. If, then, any one in passion brings a charge rashly against any one, mere abuse is not to be taken for an accusation. But a certain time being allowed for dealing with the matter, the person should profess his ability in writing to prove what he has alleged in passion; so that, if he should happen to think better of the things he uttered in passion, and decline to repeat or write them, the person may not be held as charged with the crime. Every one, therefore, who adduces a charge, ought to state in writing his ability to prove it. And, indeed, a cause should always be dealt with in the place where the charge is admitted; and the man who fails to substantiate his allegation, should himself bear the penalty which he advanced.

V. It is determined, moreover, that, in the case of an accused bishop appealing to the seat of the apostles, that should be held to be a settlement which is the decision of the pontiff of that same seat. On all occasions, however, in cases concerning priests, let this form be maintained, that no one be bound by a decision pronounced by another than his own proper judge. It is the duty also of all the faithful to be ready to help the oppressed and the miserable in their distress, in order that by the manifestation of another manner of recompense (*vindictæ*) they may be able to keep the recompense (vengeance) of God from themselves. For he offers (*libat*) things prosperous to the Lord who keeps off things adverse from the afflicted. Whence it is written, "A brother aiding a brother shall be exalted."¹ For the church of God ought to be without spot or wrinkle, and therefore it ought not to be trodden and defiled by certain persons; for it is written, "My dove, my undefiled, is but one."² Hence, again, the Lord says to Moses, "There is a place with me (*penes me*), and thou shalt stand upon a rock."³ What place is there that belongs not to the Lord, seeing that all things consist in Him by whom they were created? There is a place, however, with God—to wit, the unity of the holy church—in which there is a standing upon a rock, while the perfection of the confession (*confessionis soliditas*) is held in lowliness.

¹ Prov. xviii. 19.² Cant. vi. 9.³ Ex. xxxiii. 21.

We admonish thee, our brother, and all our brethren who are rulers in the church of Christ, which He hath purchased with His blood, to keep back, by whatever checks ye possess, all men from that abyss into which some brethren are slipping, in reviling the Lord's pastors, and persecuting them both by word and deed; and we counsel you not to suffer them to be wounded with the hook of passion: for it is written, "For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."¹ Hence it is said again, "Let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak, and slow to wrath."² Now I doubt not that with God's help you observe all these things; but as an occasion for counsel has arisen, I also secretly attach my word to your good desires and deeds, so that what you are doing of yourselves and independently of admonition you may do presently not by yourselves alone, now that the counsellor himself is added to you. Wherefore, brethren, it becomes you and all the faithful to love each other, and not to calumniate or accuse one another: for it is written, "Love thy neighbour, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, thou shalt follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he that loseth the love of his neighbour. And as one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou who hast let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again. Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he is as a roe escaped out of the snare, since his soul is wounded. Further thou wilt not be able to bind him up, and after reviling there may be reconciliation; but to bewray the secrets of a friend is the despair of an unhappy mind. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and every one will cast him off. When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy sayings. But at last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds in the deceiver. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that placeth a stone in his neighbour's way shall stumble thereon; and he that setteth a trap for another

¹ Jas. i. 20.² Jas. i. 19.

shall perish in it. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him ; and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach are from the proud ; and vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare ; and anguish shall consume them before they die. Wrath and fury are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both.”¹

“He that desireth to be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and He will surely keep his sins [in remembrance]. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee ; so shall thy sins also be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord ? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself, and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins from the Most High ? He, though he is but flesh, nourishes hatred ; and does he implore mercy from God ? Who will entreat for pardon of his sins ? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease. For corruption and death impend on His commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbour. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at the ignorance of thy neighbour. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins. For a furious man will kindle strife, and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and will make debate among them that be at peace. For according to the trees of the wood, so will the fire burn ; and according as a man’s strength is, so will his wrath be ; and according to his riches, his anger will rise. An hasty contention will kindle a fire ; and an hasty fighting will shed blood ; and a tale-bearing (*testificans*) tongue will cause death. If thou blow the spark, it shall burn like a fire ; and if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched ; and both these come out of thy mouth. The whisperer and double-tongued is cursed ; for he has destroyed many that were at peace. A backbiting (*tertia*) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation. Strong cities of the rich hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It has destroyed the strength of peoples, and has scattered strong

¹ Ecclus. xxvii. 17-30.

nations. A backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women (*viratas*, spirited), and deprived them of their labours. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and shall never have a friend on whom he may repose. The stroke of the whip maketh marks; but the stroke of the tongue will break the bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands. For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass. The death thereof is an evil death, and the grave were better than it. Its endurance shall not abide, but it shall possess the ways of the unrighteous. In its flame it shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard. Hedge thine ears (*sæpi aures*) about with thorns, and refuse to listen to the evil tongue, and make a door for thy mouth and bars for thine ears. Smelt (*confla*) thy gold and thy silver, and make a balance for thy words, and a right bridle for thy mouth. And beware lest thou slide perchance in thy tongue, and fall in the sight of thine enemies that be in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable unto death.”¹ Let all beware of these things, and “keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.”² “Finally, dearly beloved, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places (*cœlestibus*). Wherefore take unto you the armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and to stand perfect in all (*omnibus perfecti*). Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; in all (*in omnibus*) taking

¹ Eccclus. xxviii.² Ps. xxxiv. 13.

the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.”¹ It is our wish, brother, that those things which we have written to you should be made known generally to all, in order that things which touch the others should be made known to all. May Almighty God protect you, brother, and all our brethren everywhere situate, even to the end,—even He who has thought good to redeem the whole world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. Amen.—Given on the 16th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Africanus and Decius.

¹ Eph. vi. 10-17.

DECREES OF FABIAN.

TAKEN FROM THE DECRETAL OF GRATIAN.

I.

That the man who refuses to be reconciled to his brother should be reduced by the severest fastings.

[Dist. 90, *Si quis contristatus*. Basil, in *Reg.* c. 74.]



If any injured person refuses to be reconciled to his brother, when he who has injured him offers satisfaction, he should be reduced by the severest fastings, even until he accepts the satisfaction offered him with thankful mind.

II.

The man is rendered infamous who knowingly presumes to forswear himself.

[6, Q. 1, *Quicumque sciens*. Regino in the *Book of Penance*.]

Whosoever has knowingly forsworn himself, should be put for forty days on bread and water, and do penance also for the seven following years; and he should never be without penance; and he should never be admitted to bear witness. After this, however, he may enjoy communion.

III.

A man and a woman subject to madness cannot enter into marriage.

[32, Q. 7, *Neque furiosus*. And in the *Decret.* Ivo. book vi. Regino adduces it from the law of Rome.]

Neither can a mad man nor a mad woman enter into the marriage relation. But if it has been entered, then they shall not be separated.

IV.

Marriage relations in the fifth generation may unite with each other ; and in the fourth generation, if they are found, they should not be separated.

[35, Q. 2 and 3, *De propinquis*. From the *Pœnitentiale* of Theodorus.]

Concerning relations who enter affinity by the connection of husband and wife, these, on the decease of wife or husband, may form a union in the fifth generation ; and in the fourth, if they are found, they should not be separated. In the third degree of relationship, however, it is not lawful for one to take the wife of another on his death. In an equable manner, a man may be united in marriage after his wife's death with those who are his own kinswomen, and with the kinswomen of his wife.

To the immediately preceding notice.

[From the same.]

Those who marry a wife allied by blood, and are separated, shall not be at liberty, as long as both parties are alive, to unite other wives with them in marriage, unless they can plead the excuse of ignorance.

V.

Blood connections alone, or, if offspring entirely fails, the old and trustworthy, should reckon the matter of propinquity in the synod.

[35, Q. 6, *Consanguineos extraneorum*. And in the *Decret. Ivo*. vii.]

No alien should accuse blood connections, or reckon the matter of consanguinity in the synod, but relations to whose knowledge it pertains,—that is, father and mother, sister and brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, and their children. If, however, offspring entirely fails, the bishop shall make inquiry canonically of the older and more trustworthy persons to whom the same relationship may be known ; and if such relationship is found, the parties should be separated.

VI.

Every one of the faithful should communicate three times a year.

[*De Consecr.* dist. 2, *Etsi non.* And in the *Decret. Ivo.* i.]

Although they may not do it more frequently, yet at least three times in the year should the laity communicate, unless one happen to be hindered by any more serious offences,—to wit, at Easter, and Pentecost, and the Lord's Nativity.

VII.

A presbyter should not be ordained younger than thirty years of age.

[Dist. 78, *Si quis*, 30; and in the *Decret. Ivo.* iii.; from Martin Bracar, ch. 20.]

If one has not completed thirty years of age, he should in no way be ordained as presbyter, even although he may be extremely worthy; for even the Lord Himself was baptized only when He was thirty years of age, and at that period He began to teach. It is not right, therefore, that one who is to be ordained should be consecrated until he has reached this legitimate age.

THE DECREES OF THE SAME, FROM THE CODEX OF DECREES IN SIXTEEN BOOKS, FROM THE FIFTH BOOK, AND THE SEVENTH AND NINTH CHAPTERS.

I. That the oblation of the altar should be made each Lord's day.

WE decree that on each Lord's day the oblation of the altar should be made by all men and women in bread and wine, in order that by means of these sacrifices they may be released from the burden of their sins.

II. That an illiterate presbyter may not venture to celebrate mass.

The sacrifice is not to be accepted from the hand of a priest, who is not competent to discharge the prayers or actions (*actiones*) and other observances in the mass according to religious usage.

FRAGMENTS OF THE EPISTLES OF ALEXANDER,

BISHOP, FIRST OF CAPPADOCIA AND THEN OF
JERUSALEM, AND MARTYR.

ALEXANDER was at first bishop of a church in Cappadocia, but on his visiting Jerusalem he was appointed to the bishopric of the church there, while the previous bishop Narcissus was alive, in consequence of a vision which was believed to be divine.¹ During the Decian persecution he was thrown into prison at Cæsarea, and died there,² A.D. 251. The only writings of his which we know are those from which the extracts are made.

I.

AN EPISTLE TO THE PEOPLE OF ANTIOCH.

[In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* book vi. ch. xi.]



ALEXANDER, a servant and prisoner of Jesus Christ, sends greeting in the Lord to the blessed church of Antioch. Easy and light has the Lord made my bonds to me during the time of my imprisonment, since I have learned that in the providence of God, Asclepiades—who, in regard to the right faith, is most eminently qualified for the office—has undertaken the episcopate of your holy church of Antioch. And this epistle, my brethren and masters, I have sent by the hand of the blessed presbyter Clement,³ a man virtuous and well tried,

¹ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 11.

² Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 46.

³ It was the opinion of Jerome in his *Catalogus* that the Clement spoken of by Alexander was Clement of Alexandria. This Clement, at any rate, did live up to the time of the Emperor Severus, and sojourned

whom ye know already, and will know yet better; who also, coming here by the providence and supervision of the Master, has strengthened and increased the church of the Lord.

II.

FROM AN EPISTLE TO THE ANTINOITES.

[In the same.]

Narcissus salutes you, who held the episcopate in this district before me, who is now also my colleague and rival in prayer for you,¹ and who, having now attained to (ἡνυκώς) his hundred and tenth year, unites with me in exhorting you to be of one mind.²

III.

FROM AN EPISTLE TO ORIGEN.

[In the same, ch. xiv.]

For this, as thou knowest, was the will of God, that the friendship subsisting between us from our forefathers should be maintained unbroken, yea rather, that it should increase in fervency and strength. For we are well acquainted with those blessed fathers who have trodden the course before us, and to whom we too shall soon go: Pantænus, namely, that man verily blessed, my master; and also the holy Clement, who was once my master and my benefactor; and all the rest who may be like them, by whose means also I have come to know thee, my lord and brother, who excellest all. X

in these parts, as he tells us himself in the first book of his *Stromateis*. And he was also the friend of bishop Alexander, to whom he dedicated his book *On the Ecclesiastical Canon, or Against the Jews*, as Eusebius states in his *Eccles. Hist.* book vi. ch. xiii. (Migne.)

¹ συνεξεταζόμενός μοι διὰ τῶν ἐυχῶν. Jerome renders it: Salutat vos Narcissus, qui ante me hic tenuit episcopalem locum et nunc mecum eundem orationibus regit.

² The text gives ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ φρονῆσαι. Several of the codices and also Nicephorus give the better reading, ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ὁμοφρονῆσαι, which is confirmed by the interpretations of Rufinus and Jerome.

IV.

FROM AN EPISTLE TO DEMETRIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

[In the same, ch. xix.]

And he¹ (*i.e.* Demetrius) has added to his letter that this is a matter that was never heard of before, and has never been done now,—namely, that laymen should take part (in public speaking, *ὁμιλεῖν*) when there are bishops present. But in this assertion he has departed evidently far from the truth by some means. For, indeed, wherever there are found persons capable of profiting the brethren, such persons are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. Such was the case at Laranda, where Evelpis was thus exhorted by Neon; and at Iconium, Paulinus was thus exhorted by Celsus; and at Synada, Theodorus also by Atticus, our blessed brethren. And it is probable that this is done in other places also, although we know not the fact.

¹ Demetrius is, for honour's sake, addressed in the third person. Perhaps *ἡ σὴ ἀγιότης* or some such form preceded.

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